Volume 26, No. 1 Spring Number, 1937

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

CONTENTS

PAGE

Portraits of Delegates to the Friends' World Conference....*Frontispiece*
The Summer Meeting of F. H. A., 1937..... 3
Extracts from papers on Doylestown Meeting,
Samuel Hart, John Watson
"Fonthill," home of the late Henry Chapman Mercer}
Museum of the Bucks County Historical Society }
Illustrations facing page 4
Friends' Meeting House at Doylestown, Pennsylvania }
Supper on the Lawn of the Meeting House at Doylestown}
Illustrations facing page 8
The Independence Hall Exhibit of F. H. A.
AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE 9
Quakerism as an International Movement.....LESLIE D. SHAFFER 11
World Statistics of Friends' Yearly Meetings..... 12
Map Showing World Distribution of Quakerism
Illustration facing page 12
World-wide Work of the American Friends Service Committee
RUFUS M. JONES 19
Friends in Holland in the Early Twentieth Century
MARIA C. HELDRING BYE 22
Friends in Holland in the Later Twentieth Century...JIM LIEFTINCK 26
Friends in Sweden.....EMILIA FOGELKLOU NORLIND 30
Quakerism in France.....HENRY VAN ETTEN 35
Quaker Bibliographical Notes. II. Antislavery Writings
HENRY J. CADBURY 39
Title Page of Hepburn's *American Defence*..*Illustration facing page* 41
Book Reviews 54
Items from Periodicals 59
Notes 62
Proposed Amendment to the Constitution..... 64

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Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Membership Committee.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

Volume 26, No. 1 Spring Number, 1937

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

THE SUMMER MEETING of the Friends' Historical Association was held at Doylestown, Pennsylvania, on the afternoon of Fifth month 15, 1937. Preceding the official meeting was a visit to the Museum of the Bucks County Historical Society, at which members and their friends inspected the curious and multitudinous relics of American civilization of the last 250 years, gathered in a curious building and maintained under the care of Mr. Horace M. Mann, the Curator. There was also a display of books of special interest to Friends, arranged by the Librarian, Mr. George MacReynolds. The Editor was interested to find there a manuscript copy of the Philadelphia Discipline of 1719, the property of Buckingham Monthly Meeting, in the handwriting of William Atkinson—a manuscript of sixty pages. Readers of the BULLETIN will recall mention of this revision of the Philadelphia Discipline in Rayner W. Kelsey's article on *Early Books of Discipline* in the BULLETIN, vol. 24 (1935).

The Museum proper is a great concrete structure built with an open space in the center from basement to roof, and galleries around the four sides. The visitor entering on the ground floor sees above and on all sides a threatening collection of household implements and artifacts hanging from the roof and from the galleries about him—farm wagons and water wheels, pump shafts and whaling boats, stage coaches and heavy sleighs—; while smaller articles are displayed on the floors or, if in danger of being removed, in well-lighted recesses, visible through glass windows. The number and variety is astonishing.

The meeting was called in the meeting house under the chairmanship of Lydia Flagg Gummere, as the President of the Association, William W. Comfort, was in Europe, and Mrs. Francis B. Gummere, Vice President, who had been expected to

preside, was prevented by illness from serving. The meeting house dates from 1835. Two interesting addresses, prepared and read by Mrs. George Watson and Mrs. Harry T. Shoemaker, gave an account of the founding of the meeting, and of Samuel Hart and John Watson, who had been active in the building of the meeting house and in early meeting affairs. The essential facts of the early history, based on a memorandum written by Samuel Hart himself in 1850, are given below, followed by selections from the papers prepared for the occasion.

An indulged meeting at Doylestown was authorized by Buckingham Monthly Meeting in 1834, and was held at first in a rented room. In 1835, the meeting house was started. Five Friends agreed to underwrite the enterprise—William Stokes, Timothy Smith, Samuel Hart, Eleazer T. McDowell, and Samuel Yardley; and a house fifty by twenty-six feet was erected at a cost of $1654.50, in which the first meeting was held in Second month 1936. Various Friends contributed toward the expense of the building, and John Watson interested himself in securing contributions totaling $545.25 from Bucks Quarterly Meeting and from Gwynedd and Richland Monthly Meetings of Abington Quarter, leaving a balance of $880.25 for the five underwriting Friends to pay. Later Bucks Quarter increased its contribution, so that the contribution of the five Friends, who held title, was reduced to about $75 each, and they declared a trust of the property, holding it as trustees under the Quarterly Meeting for the Meeting's benefit. At the date of Samuel Hart's memorandum, Samuel Yardley had removed to Philadelphia, and the other trustees, except Samuel Hart himself, had died.

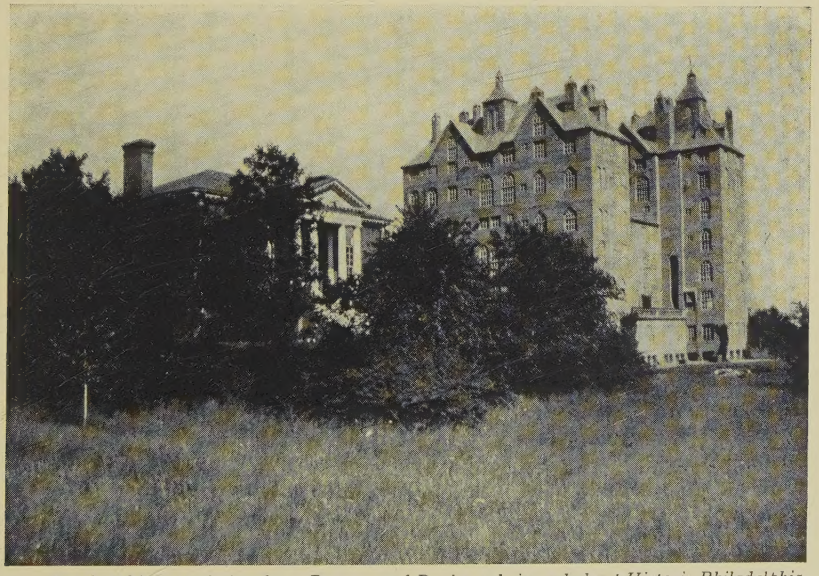
Doylestown Meeting

DOYLESTOWN is an indulged meeting under the care of Buckingham Monthly Meeting. The meeting house belongs to Bucks Quarter.

Originally there was a partition and the seats ran in the other direction from the way they now run, with the raised seats facing the street. The specifications called for "a partition running across the house from front to back, with one double door to pass through and five hoisting shutters on slides, all to be hung with pulleys and weights, the said double door, partition and slides to be of panel work." The inside woodwork was unpainted.

We have a letter from Mary H. Atkinson, of Newtown, in which she says, in part:

"Fonthill," home of the late Henry Chapman Mercer
Doylestown, Pennsylvania



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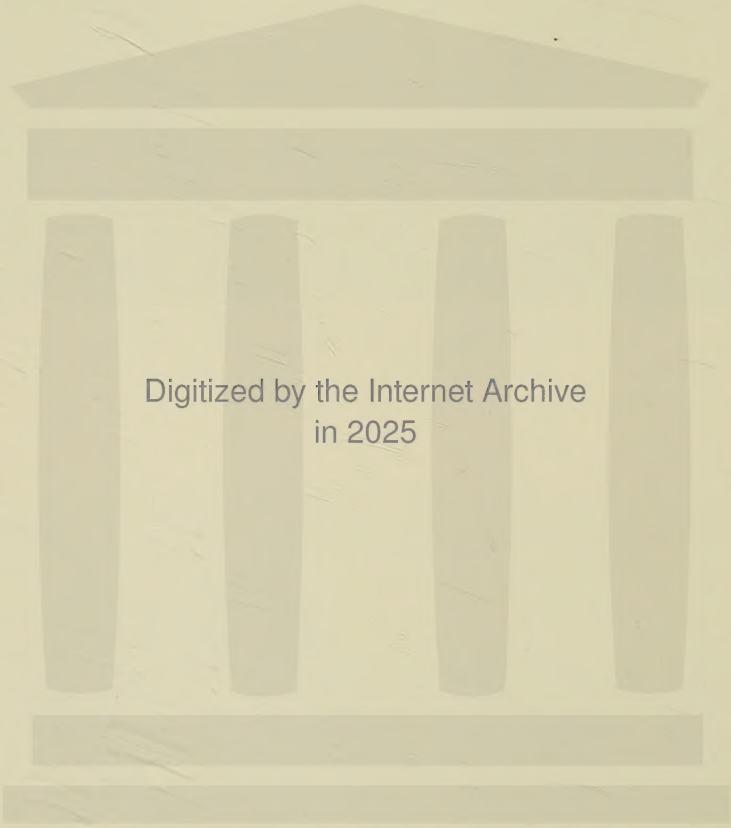
Museum of The Bucks County Historical Society
Doylestown, Pennsylvania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My own memory dates from the fall of 1865. At that time a partition with shutters in the upper part divided the room east and west. The upper gallery, where the elders and speakers sat facing the body of the meeting, was on the north side. The men sat on the west side and the women in the east.

No one seems to know exactly when the partition was removed, but we do know that Thomas Smith, later superintendent of the cemetery, did the work—probably about 1870.

I well remember when a nice three-ply carpet was bought, adding greatly to the appearance of the room.

The outside of the meeting house looks as it did in the early days of 1865, but the ash trees have grown old like the people of those days.

Mary H. Atkinson, the writer of the above letter, had left Doylestown when I came here in 1895 as the wife of George Watson, son of Judge Richard Watson. At that time, the meeting was well attended and very interesting. Samuel Hart, Thomas Trego, and T. O. Atkinson sat at the head of the meeting—later Harry J. Shoemaker and Hampton W. Rice.

Last summer we observed our 100th Anniversary. Many came who had once lived in Doylestown and enjoyed exchanging reminiscences. Among those who spoke was Ellen D. Atkinson, who had attended the meeting for 65 years.

—Read by Mary A. Watson

Samuel Hart

SAMUEL HART, SR., was born Nov. 1, 1783, and died Nov. 25, 1863. He was one of the most active business and professional men of his time, for a full half century filling numerous public positions and keeping in active touch with all the affairs of his time.

His father died when he was but fourteen years of age, and Col. Robert Loller of Hatboro, a noted surveyor, justice, and philanthropist, was appointed his guardian, and virtually adopted him, taking him to his home and superintending his education, teaching him the art of surveying and conveyancing and making him his assistant along these lines. Samuel Hart succeeded to the business of his guardian and foster father at his death.

On January 6, 1806, he married his cousin Mary Hart, daughter of Col. William and Elizabeth (Means) Hart, of Hartsville, and for twenty years or more resided in the neighborhood of

Hartsville, where he was a justice of the peace and followed the business of surveying, conveyancing, and settlement of estates. He was a member of Neshaminy Presbyterian Church of Warwick, and served as a trustee of the church from 1810 to 1823.

His wife died Feb. 28, 1828, and a year later he married Amy (Kinsey) Mathews, widow of John Mathews, of Wrightstown, and daughter of Benjamin Kinsey of Buckingham. She was a member of the Society of Friends, and he united with that Society, and removed to Doylestown township, where the remainder of his life was spent. Samuel Hart, Jr., was the only child of the second marriage.

Samuel Hart, Sr., was commissioned Surveyor of Bucks County in 1809, and filled that position for many years. The original commission for this position in 1809 and 1812, those for Justice of the Peace for Warwick and Warminster in 1819, for Buckingham and Solebury in 1833, and for Canal Commissioner in 1832, are among the collection of the Hart papers now in the possession of the Bucks County Historical Society.

He, however, filled the position of Justice of the Peace and that of Associate Justice of the Court, for many years after these dates. His correspondence with men of prominence was exceedingly large.

—Read by Ann G. Shoemaker

John Watson

WE REGRET that we have not been able to find out more about the Friends who helped to establish Doylestown Meeting. I have been asked to give some account of John Watson.

John Watson (1774-1864) lived the greater part of his life in Buckingham Township. I have found the following in the manuscript of his son, Judge Richard Watson:

> Upon his marriage he engaged in teaching school and was the first teacher at the house then newly erected near Buckingham Meeting (Buckingham Friends' School). He also taught the Friends' schools at Attleborough (now Langhorne) and at Forestville (now Forest Grove).
>
> He became a surveyor and conveyancer and continued to be employed in that way during the remainder of his life, as long as he was able to attend to it.

He was an intimate friend of Amos Austin Hughes and drew his will under which was established the Hughesian Free School (at Buckingham) and was one of the Trustees named in the will to carry out the designs of the testator.

He opposed building the school house on the ground that it was foreign to the testator's intention, which was to benefit poor children by bringing them up and furnishing them an education to fit them for the business of life and not for the founding of a common school for the use of all and in ease of the taxpayers of the township. His opposition was unavailing. The house was built, the school was opened, and has now for many years been maintained from the funds of the estate, all who choose being permitted to send their children free of charge. [The Hughesian School is now run in connection with a large consolidated public school, which has been lately erected on the Hughesian property.]

John Watson was a sincere and zealous Friend, early and deeply imbued with the principles of the Society—strict in their observance in everyday life and a constant attendant upon meetings for worship and discipline. He was successively clerk, overseer, and elder, and for fifty consecutive years attended the sessions of the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia.

In early life, in view of the evils of intemperance, he abandoned the use of intoxicating liquors in the harvest field, when such use was universal among his neighbors, and by his example did much to discourage it.

The only office he held was that of fence viewer, a board appointed by the court for the settlement of disputes in relation to line fences. In this capacity he was called to different parts of the county, and he generally succeeded in settling the dispute to the satisfaction of the parties and restoring peace between them. Sometimes his services as a surveyor were also required in such cases to fix the true division line between the properties where the fence was to be built.

He was a natural mechanic. It was long his habit to fit out every newly married young woman of the neighborhood or of his acquaintance with certain little articles, the work of his hands, for necessary use in her household.

In 1854 he came to live with a married daughter near Doylestown. He passed away in 1864, aged ninety years, and was buried at Buckingham in the graveyard (adjoining Buckingham Meeting) where the bodies of his ancestors were laid before him. These ancestors had been all after the strict sect of the Friends, no monument had been erected over the graves of any of them, not a stone marks the spot where one of them reposes. His own grave and the graves of his two wives are marked with modest stones.

John Watson was the fifth generation from Thomas Watson who came from England in 1701 bringing the following certificate:

From Our Mens Monthly Meeting at Pardsay Cragg In Cumberland 23: 7 mo. 1701.

To Friends In Pensilvania or where this may Come—

Dear Friends Unto you is the salutation of True and Unfeigned Love in our Lord Jesus Christ heartily wishing an Encrease in that which tends to his Glory & your Eternal peace.

The occasion of these lines is on behalf of our Friend the bearer hereof Thomas Watson of Cockermouth with his wife & Children, who for some Considerable time past has had desires to Remove himself and family unto Pensilvania which he alsoe Regularly Acquainted Friends with and now his Resolution Continueing does this day Request our Certificate with Them.

He was descended of honest Parents and such as Served Truth in their day. Wee Can Likewise say that himself and family has hitherto waulked Truth Like & bin orderly in their Conversation for anything wee know and that they now Leave us in Unity with Them, and wee desire friends where there Lott may be to be helpfull in Advising of Them in anything that Truth Requires.

Signed on Behalfe of the said Meeting

By ye Friends and Bretheren

Jon Wilson Izaac Fallowfeild James Dickinson Jonathan Bell
Christo. Pearson John Rogers John Ribbon Thomas Walker

—Read by Ann G. Shoemaker

ABOUT 200 persons were present, and showed lively interest in the papers. At the close of the exercises, the company adjourned to the lawn in the rear, between the Meeting House and the old hitching shed, and partook of a box supper, for which a dessert of coffee, ice cream, and cakes was supplied under the direction of the local Hospitality Committee, consisting of Mrs. Harry J. Shoemaker, Chairman, Mrs. Julian W. Gardy, Mrs. John H. Ruckman, Mrs. Henry Arnold Todd, Mrs. George Watson, and Mrs. Henry E. Ely.

Many of the company used the occasion of the visit to Doylestown to visit "Fonthill," the home of the late Henry Chapman Mercer, which has been made into a public museum. It contains the original owner's collections of tiles, gathered from all parts of the world. The building itself, like the Museum of the Bucks County Historical Society, is entirely of concrete, and is constructed according to a curious and interesting plan, within and without, designed primarily to afford a setting for the tiles which line its interior. It now houses Mr. Mercer's various collections.

Courtesy of *Bucks County Times.*

Friends' Meeting House at Doylestown, Pennsylvania

Courtesy of *Bucks County Times.*

Supper on the Lawn of the Meeting House at Doylestown

The Association, according to its accustomed agreement with the weather man for its annual spring pilgrimage, was favored with delightful sunlight and warmth.

THE PRESENT issue of the BULLETIN contains several articles on the history of Quaker settlements in other parts of the world. It thus carries on the plan begun in the preceding issue, which contained accounts of Quakerism in Germany and Russia. The series will be continued in the next issue.

One of the purposes of the series was to utilize the interest centering in the World Conference of Friends, to be held at Swarthmore and Haverford in September of this year, in order to point out in detail, and record in the printed word, the extent to which Quakerism is becoming a world movement. The map which is shown facing page 12 gives visual evidence of Quakerism's front. The Editor wishes herewith to thank contributors from many parts of the world for sending their local records.

THE INDEPENDENCE HALL EXHIBIT OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

ON THURSDAY, June 3, the long-cherished wishes of the Friends' Historical Association to have the means of displaying part of their relics and treasures were in a measure realized. President W. W. Comfort and ex-President Charles F. Jenkins interviewed Mayor S. Davis Wilson, of Philadelphia, during the past winter, and secured his interest in the plan of such a display under the care of the City; and on the above date the loan exhibition was presented by Charles Francis Jenkins, and accepted by Mayor Wilson, with appropriate addresses. It seems long overdue that, in the principal seat of Quakerism in eastern America, there should be some exhibit which Philadelphians and visitors can turn to as a reminder of the founding fathers. The Curator, Lydia Flagg Gummere, has worked assiduously and with telling effect in arranging the exhibition, and deserves the cordial thanks of the Association and of the public.

Amelia Mott Gummere, Vice President of the Association, has contributed the following account of the exhibition:

FOR MANY years the Friends' Historical Association has pursued a modest but important career of usefulness among Philadelphia citizens and others interested in the Quaker contribution to the early history of Pennsylvania. It has in the interval since its organization, in which the late President Isaac Sharpless, of Haverford College, was very active, collected a valuable series of documentary and social possessions, which for all these years have been carefully guarded under lock and key, but few of them have ever seen the light.

The present general interest in social history makes it seem appropriate to place some of these treasures on public display. The Mayor of Philadelphia, the Honorable S. Davis Wilson, has quite cordially agreed with this opinion of the officers of the Friends' Historical Association, and has placed at their disposal a room for exhibition purposes in Independence Hall. The room is in the east building which was once the City Hall, at the southwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets. It may be reached by entering the main door on Chestnut Street, and taking the grand staircase on the right. The exhibition room is at the head of the stair, on the right.

Among the treasures shown are a deed drawn by William Penn, dated 1703, and a portion of a beam from the house of his daughter, Letitia; German currency used as a medium of exchange for the child-feeding in 1918-19 by the Quakers and stamped with their name; a sundial and compass, ingeniously combined, dated about 1790; a portrait of Cornplanter, Chief of the Seneca Indians, and a letter from him to the Philadelphia Quakers in 1791, asking them to educate two Seneca boys (reproduced in the BULLETIN, vol. 25, No. 2); a passport of Richard Jordan of New Jersey, for a religious visit on the continent of Europe, issued at Amsterdam, 1801; an early Quaker marriage certificate; and an original petition of Philadelphia Friends to the United States Senate, requesting an amicable termination of the war with Mexico. There are also articles of dress from the seventeenth century to the present, including Quaker hats and Quaker bonnets. A large case contains three costumed figures—a man and two women, one of the latter dressed in the style of 1677, when the ship *Kent* came up the Delaware to what is now

Burlington. The other two costumes date from about 1840. There are a number of pictures, including a fine collection of photographs of meeting houses. Swarthmore Hall, home of Margaret Fell, the widow of Judge Fell, who afterward married George Fox, is shown in pictures of the very interesting interior as well as exterior.

The present display includes only a small part of the entire collection of the Friends' Historical Association, but it will be changed from time to time in the hope that the public may find interest in this exhibition.

QUAKERISM AS AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT*

By Leslie D. Shaffer

THE Religious Society of Friends today has a total membership of 158,267. The Society is divided into forty-two Yearly Meetings. Two of these Yearly Meetings are in Great Britain, three in Canada, twenty-four in the United States, thirteen in as many other countries. Besides these regular Yearly Meetings, there are general meetings and conference groups in more than twenty different countries where Friends are living and working. There are meetings in Alaska, Austria, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Ceylon, China, Czechoslovakia, Fritchley (England), Greece, Guatemala, Hawaii, Honduras, Hungary, Jamaica, Madagascar, Mexico, Mid-India, New Guinea, New Zealand, Pemba, Poland, Russia, Sakalava, South and East Africa, and Switzerland.

London and Dublin Yearly Meetings in Great Britain, which are the mother meetings, comprise not only meetings in England, Dublin, Scotland, and Wales, but also the general meetings of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The total member-

(Continued on page 13)

* The map facing page 12, which shows the world distribution of Friends' Yearly Meetings, schools, and individual meetings, is reprinted with permission from *Hand Book of the Religious Society of Friends,* issued by the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pa., under date of July, 1935. The statistical table of information, on page 12, is adapted from the same source.

World Statistics of Friends' Yearly Meetings, July 1935

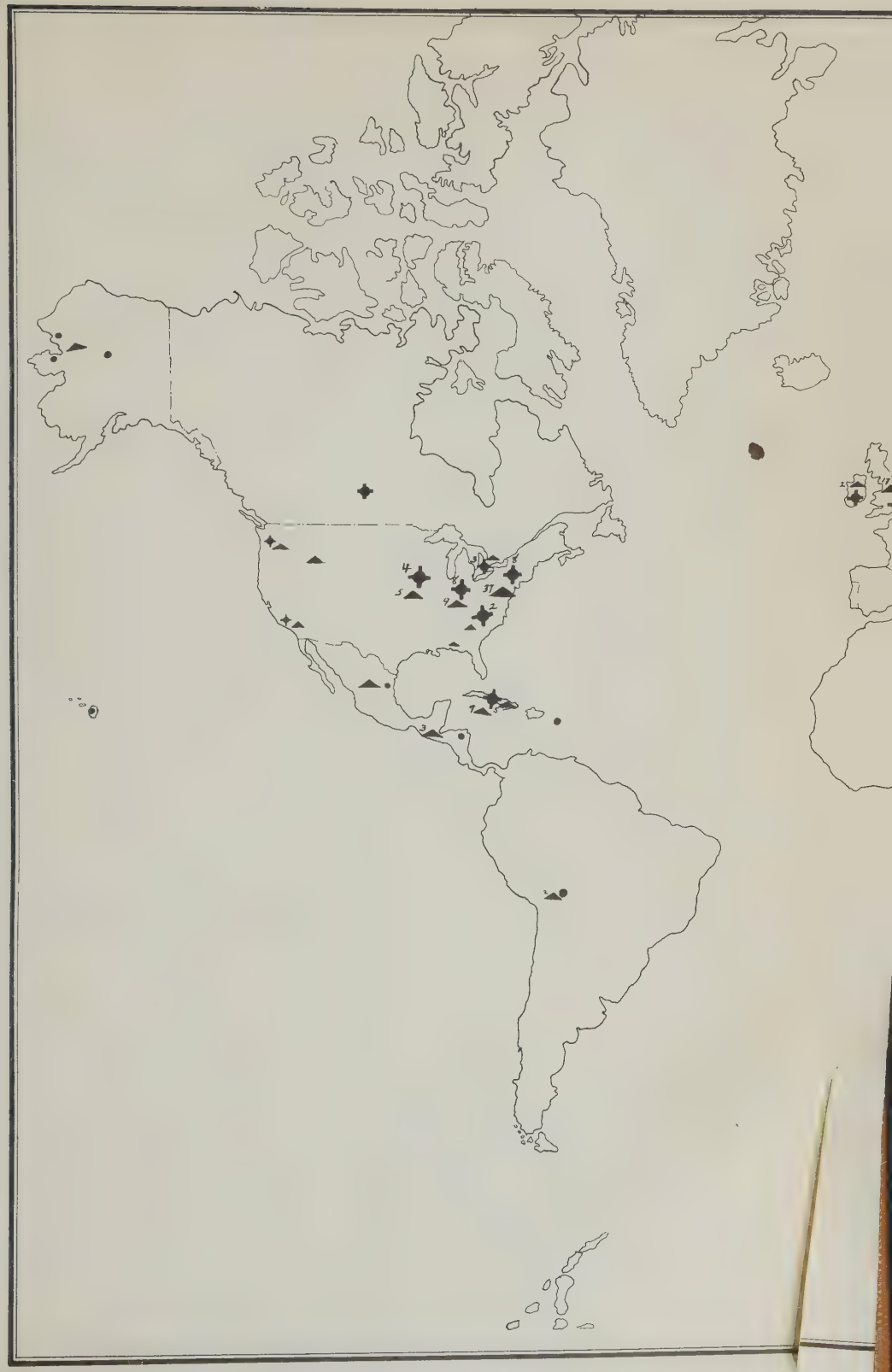
Showing date of establishment, affiliation, and number of members

In North America

	Alaska (California)	1,317
1672	Baltimore (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	1,213
1671	Baltimore (Gen. Conf.)	2,251
1895	California (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	4,484
1867	Canada (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	729
1867	Canada (Conservative)	100
	Canada, Western (Ind.)	41
1834	(Canada) Genesee (Gen. Conf.)	444
1889	College Park, Calif. (All branches)	75
1887	Illinois (Gen. Conf.)	285
1821	Indiana (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	15,944
1820	Indiana (Gen. Conf.)	680
1863	Iowa (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	7,477
1878	Iowa (Conservative)	950
1872	Kansas (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	9,098
1908	Nebraska (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	2,390
1660	New England (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	3,506
1661	New England (Conservative)	117
1695	New York (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	3,565
1695	New York (Gen. Conf.)	2,035
1698	North Carolina (Conservative)	500
1698	North Carolina (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	10,826
1812	Ohio (Conservative)	1,260
1812	Ohio (Gen. Conf.: no yearly meetings held; a Representative Committee exists)	22
1813	Ohio (Ind.)	5,607
1893	Oregon (Ind.)	3,135
1681	Philadelphia, Arch St. (Ind.)	4,732
1681	Philadelphia, Race St. (Gen. Conf.)	10,505
1858	Western (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	13,069
1877	Western (Conservative)	200
1892	Wilmington (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	5,296
	Yearly Meetings, 31. Total Membership	111,853
	Members of independent and united meetings	603

Outside North America

1902	Africa, East, at Kenya (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	7,084
1916	Africa, Pemba, half yearly	100
	Africa, Gen. Mtg. (London)	116
1902	Australia (London)	642
1887	China, East (Ohio, Ind.)	944
1904	China, West: half-yearly (London)	406
1927	Cuba (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	1,967
1879	Denmark	35
1671	Dublin	2,108
1933	France (formerly, London; now, Ind.)	100
1869	Fritchley (Derby, England)	60
1925	Germany	212
	Guatemala (California)	3,683
1931	Holland	19
	Honduras	400
1907	India, Mid	169
	Jamaica	1,136
1917	Japan	750
1668	London	20,383
1881	Madagascar (London)	5,850
	Mexico (Five Yrs. Mtg.)	56
1908	New Zealand (London)	282
	Norway	70
1929	Palestine and Syria (London and Five Yrs. Mtg.)	131
1669	Scotland (London)	347
1935	Sweden	30



LEGEND:

FRIENDS AROUND THE WORLD

- YEARLY MEETING
- SCHOOL
- MEETINGS
  GROUPS OF FRIENDS
  MISSIONS

ship of this section of the Society of Friends is 22,561. Through the international activities of London Yearly Meeting, two Australian Friends' Schools are maintained. One school is located at Hobart, Tasmania, and the other at Wanganui, New Zealand. The Meeting for Sufferings has a Committee on Slavery and the Protection of Native Races which deals principally with Africa but watches legislation affecting native races throughout the world.

The main international activities of London Yearly Meeting are under the control of the Friends Service Council, which is also a committee of Dublin Yearly Meeting and is responsible to both bodies. The Friends Service Council was formed by amalgamating the Friends Foreign Mission Association (1868) and the Council for International Service (1869). The union of these two bodies occurred in 1927. The council has a joint responsibility for carrying on the older missionary work in China, India, Madagascar, Pemba, and Syria, as well as the newer service work in the four centers in Berlin, Paris, Geneva, and Vienna. The American Friends Service Committee cooperates with the Friends Service Council in this latter field of activity.

The Friends Service Council produces Quaker literature in 23 foreign languages, assists in the direction of the Quaker School at Ommen, Holland, which has recently been opened. In an effort to link up the smaller Yearly Meetings and more isolated groups of Friends, particularly in Europe, a series of international conferences have been conducted. The first of these met at Elsinore, Denmark, in 1931 and six others have been held. The conferences are arranged by an International Committee composed of representatives of the main groups participating. The subjects which have been considered at the seven conferences held have been as follows:

Quakerism and Modern Life and Thought, Elsinore 1931.
Problems of the World Crisis, Paris 1931.
Spiritual Values of Quakerism and their Application in the World Today, Amsterdam 1932.
The Life of the Spirit and Modern Human Difficulties, Geneva, 1933.
From Vision to Action, Prague 1934.
Christ and Present-day Quaker Experiences, Paris 1935.
Quaker Pacifism, Jordans, England, 1936.

THE twenty-seven Yearly Meetings in the United States and Canada have a membership of 110,536. Twelve of these Yearly Meetings belong to the Five Years Meeting of Friends in America. They are Baltimore, California, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, New England, New York, North Carolina, Western, Wilmington, and Canada. The numerous activities and interests of these Yearly Meetings are carried on by various boards. The different boards created are Missions, Religious Education, Young Friends' Activities, Peace, Education, Prohibition and Public Morals, and Publications.

Six Yearly Meetings belong to the Friends General Conference. They are Philadelphia (Race Street), Baltimore, New York, Genesee, Indiana, and Illinois. Their work and activity is carried on under the three headings of Education, Social Service, and Advancement. Biennial Conferences are held.

There are six Yearly Meetings known as Conservative Meetings. They are Canada, Iowa, New England, North Carolina, Ohio, and Western. These meetings have no organizational affiliations. Philadelphia (Arch Street) Yearly Meeting, Oregon Yearly Meeting and Ohio Yearly Meeting at Damascus are Independent Yearly Meetings. The Conservative Meeting of Western Canada has recently united with the Canadian Yearly Meeting. Most of the groups do join with the meetings of the General Conference and the Five Years Meeting in the work of the American Friends Service Committee.

THE six Yearly Meetings of Central Europe and the Scandinavian countries comprise a membership of 536. Sweden is the youngest Yearly Meeting in this group and Denmark is the oldest. They became Yearly Meetings in the following order:

1879	Denmark	Membership	35
1925	Germany	"	212
1931	Holland	"	19
1933	France	"	100
	Norway	"	70
1935	Sweden	"	30

The Society of Friends in Holland originated from a small group of people in Amsterdam who all knew the Quaker method

of worship from experience. In 1928 they began a fortnightly meeting on Sunday morning in the home of the only real "Friend" among them. They now have a meeting for worship with a monthly business meeting in Amsterdam and the Hague; there are also meetings for worship at Haarlem and Ommen. The center for their Quaker life is found in the Quaker Hostel in Amsterdam which is operated by Jim and Luise Lieftinck.

A school is maintained at Castle Eerde, Ommen, Holland. English, German, and Dutch Friends are cooperating in this international enterprise. There are more than 100 pupils in this school, which is located in the country. Katharine Petersen is the school director and Piet Ariens Kappers is considered its spiritual father. A third center of Quaker life in Holland is in the form of a school which Manfred and Lilly Pollatz began at Haarlem after they left Germany. A number of refugee children from Germany find refuge there.

Quakerism became known to pacifist circles in Switzerland during the Great War. Quaker conscientious objectors and the relief work carried on by Friends inspired Pierre Ceresole, the most well known C. O. (conscientious objector) in Switzerland to create the International Voluntary Service for Peace. Thus enthusiastic supporters of the I. V. S. became drawn towards Quakerism and tried to work in the same spirit. The Friends' International Center at Geneva helped to organize a conference at Berne in 1934 for the Swiss "friends of the Friends." Helene Monastier, secretary of the continuation committee of this conference, says: "To believers, tired of the conventional forms of a church where the message of peace found so little response, to lonely seekers anxious to discover a spiritual home where they would find comfort and proof of the eternal truth of the message of Christ, Quakerism brought that for which they were longing." The Swiss Friends are still very few in number, scarcely a dozen. The majority of those who gathered at the Berne Conference are "friends of the Friends" who meet for group worship in Zurich, Basle, and Lausanne. The Quaker Student Hostel at Geneva and the Monthly Meeting at Geneva form the guiding center for Friends in Switzerland. One winter there were resident students from eighteen different countries, representing nine different

religions. The Society of Friends at large is kept informed about the activities of the League of Nations through the work of Bertram Pickard and others.

Jaro Kose, the oldest member both by age and date of membership in the Friends' group in Prague, Czechoslovakia, says his first contact with Quakers was at a Y. W. C. A. conference in the U. S. A. They were Quaker students from Bryn Mawr, and they introduced him to other Quakers who explained our belief and practice. Later at Geneva he was brought into contact with Friends through his associations with Margaret Lester of Philadelphia.

When Jaro Kose returned to Prague he was lonely for the Quaker group. So together with Liba Vokrova, a Czech student at the Geneva center and Woodbrooke, they organized a Friends' group. There are now seven who have joined the Society and there are about eighteen who meet regularly in the group. They put their Quaker ideals into active service by assisting German refugees and through a scheme of relief for unemployed young people in the industrial border districts mostly hit by the crisis.

The Scandinavian Yearly Meetings are small in number but are none the less important. They are a little over 200 in number in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. About sixty-five years ago traveling Quaker ministers came to Denmark and planted the seed. As the group grew in membership, the two major problems which they were called to face were the religious education which their children received in the public schools, and military service. The first problem was solved through the establishment of a Friends' boarding school. The second problem was solved partially when quite a number of the group emigrated to America. This deprived the group of younger Friends. In 1931 the International Conference held in Elsinore greatly stimulated the life of the group and met the needs of many young people seeking the way to peace.

In Sweden four settlement workers began to meet together during the war. In 1931 the Swedish group joined London Yearly Meeting and in 1935 established their own Yearly Meeting. Their meetings for worship are held in "the silent room" of Birkagården Settlement. They have started a hostel where

they have a social gathering once a week. A number of German refugees have been their summer guests in a little cottage by the sea.

Scandinavian Friends publish a common periodical called *Kvekeren* ("Quakers").

INTO Central and South America, California and Oregon Yearly Meetings have carried the Quaker message. In Guatemala we should have to travel for six months by train, automobile, mule back, and canoe if we wished to visit all the people, for they have about 4,000 believers. The mission maintains three schools, a clinic, a print shop, book store, and commissary. In Honduras six American workers carry on the work through three churches with an attendance of about 400. In Bolivia, at La Paz, workers from Oregon Yearly Meeting conduct a Friends' school and mission station.

Through the Board of Missions of the Five Years Meetings, Friends' work is carried to Kenya Colony (Africa), West China, Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico, and Palestine.

Cuba Yearly Meeting has a membership of 1,967. Five missionaries and a native staff of thirty-six teachers and pastors are active in this country. The central school at Holguin places an emphasis upon religious education, and has been recognized throughout the country for the substantial results of its work.

In Mexico, where there are about 350 Friends, new methods have become necessary to meet the changing political situation. One of these new methods which Friends are employing this year in Mexico is that of the development of young peoples' camps, made possible by a special gift.

The life of the Jamaica General Conference of Friends centers around the Happy Grove School at Highgate. Friends in Jamaica have also met a need in providing care for orphan boys and girls. The Lyndale Girl's Home is described as "a splendid object lesson in Christian fellowship and international good-will," with Chinese, Syrians, Jamaicans, and East Indians.

The Friends Boarding School for boys and girls at Ram Allah, in Palestine, with its message of conciliation in an area where Greek and Roman Catholics, Protestant, Jews, and Moslems find

it difficult to live together amicably, forms the chief interest of work in Palestine. There is also a school at Brummana, and an orphanage conducted by Daniel and Emily Oliver.

In Japan, China, India, and Africa, schools, hospitals, orphanages, and meetings spread a network of Friendly influence. In Japan the emphasis has been placed on education for women, social reform, and international peace. English and American Friends both join in this work, which was started by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street).

In China the chief Friends' center is at West China Union University at Chengtu. There is also a boys' high school at Chungking, and at Lingnan University we find the medical contribution of William W. Cadbury and wife.

Mid-India Yearly Meeting was established in 1907 and now has a membership of 155. At Sohagpur we find a girls' boarding school and the Rachel Metcalfe Home. At Itarsi we have a hospital, and an institute and boys' school.

The Friends African Mission has five thriving stations in Kenya, British East Africa. The work began in 1902 at Kaimosi and now embraces ten monthly meetings with 7,084 members and 16,000 attenders. Dr. A. A. Bond, Dr. R. Bryan Michener, and Margaret R. Parker conduct a hospital at Kaimosi. Unusual features of this mission are the saw mill, model coffee farm, brickyard, and printing press, which prints textbooks for the school.

A few years ago the translation of the New Testament into Luragoli was completed, of which 10,000 copies have been printed in America and sent to Africa.

Paul D. Sturge has said: "A gradual but profound change has been taking place within the Society of Friends in the post-war years. The springing up of little groups in various communities seeking to follow the Quaker way of life and the establishment of several new Indiana Yearly Meetings has transformed it from a predominantly Anglo-American community into a growing spiritual fellowship in which many nationalities share." "We are an International Society of Friends educating youth, healing the sick, teaching the way to peace and human brotherhood. Our heritage is a fellowship of Friends around the world."

WORLD-WIDE WORK OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

By Rufus M. Jones

THE American Friends Service Committee was born to meet a supreme crisis in the life of the Society of Friends. Consistent Friends could not take part in the World War nor could they withdraw into a calm retreat and refuse all responsibility for the tragedy that was going on before their eyes. If Quakers had a faith worth preserving they were bound to demonstrate their faith in action and *do* something with it.

Soon after the formation of the Committee, on April 30, 1917, doors were opened for a unit of relief workers in the war zone of northern France and in central Russia. In both fields American Quaker workers were joined with English Friends who were previously engaged in tasks of relief. The work in Russia was primarily concerned with helping to care for refugees from Poland who had fled before the oncoming armies of the Central Powers. In France the types of work were multifarious but in a general way the work was what we now call rehabilitation.

But from the very beginning the Service Committee was much more than an agency of relief. It was then, is now and always has been, engaged in the interpretation of a way of life. It met the violence of war and destruction with a service of love and creative good-will. It confronted the ruthless destruction of homes, the breakup of family life, and the wreckage of neighborhoods, with the rebuilding of homes, the reorganization of families, the reconstruction of community life and the tender nurture of little children.

AFTER the armistice came Friends were asked to stay and reconstruct the destroyed villages of the Verdun district. This extensive work was carried through in 1919 and 1920 and a splendid maternity hospital was built at Châlons-sur-Marne and presented to France. Meantime the Service Committee had sent a unit of workers into Serbia for similar reconstruction and rehabilitation work there.

English and American Friends under the joint cooperation of their respective Committees were the first to bring relief and guidance to the sorely distressed citizens of Vienna. They bought cows in Switzerland and Holland and took them to Vienna to supply milk to the children. They brought in coal in their Ford cars from Hungary and kept the fires burning in the hospitals, and thus began a work of friendship in that city which still goes on.

When the Polish refugees got back to their old regions—one cannot say "homes"—from Russia, they found desolation everywhere. Bushes had grown up in their fields and they were unable to plow them. They sent out a letter addressed to "Quakers, America," which finally came to the Service Committee office in Philadelphia. A unit was sent out with tractor plows, and another piece of rehabilitation was carried through there, with the more serious and sacrificial work of fighting typhus fever.

For four years a vast child-feeding program was carried through in Germany by the American Friends Service Committee, covering the entire Reich and reaching at the peak a million two hundred thousand children, and employing 40,000 Germans working through the Quaker Committee.

IT proved to be impossible to come away from Europe and drop the lines of fellowship and service that had been formed. As a result centers of a more or less permanent nature have developed in Berlin, Paris, Vienna, and Geneva, and for a period there were similar centers in Moscow and Warsaw.

The Service Committee took the initiative in the construction of a model village for laborers in Shanghai, China, and made the first contribution of $1,000 toward it. In the period of strain after the ban on the immigration of Japanese to this country the Service Committee inaugurated the intervisitation of Japanese and American students which did something toward the diffusion of better international feeling.

The formation of the Peace Section with its caravans, its international Institutes, its multitudinous activities, is a story of its own. Hardly less important has been the work of the Home Service Section, which has promoted the work of opening doors

for young Friends to give periods of volunteer service of a creative and constructive type along many lines.

Finally there has developed an extensive field of labor among the families of miners in the soft-coal areas of the country, where this industry was passing through a time of tragic depression. This work became one of the major tasks of the Committee and out of it unexpectedly came another vast labor of rehabilitation. There were large numbers of these stranded coal miners who would never again find labor in the mines, and the task fell upon the Service Committee to take a leading part in rehabilitating these unfortunate families. This important work is carried on under the Social-Economic Section. Just at the present time a new expansion has come to meet another tragic emergency. A sub-committee has been formed to secure funds and to direct relief to the Spanish children on both sides who are being ground under the millstones of a terrible civil war. In all the work of the Service Committee reconciliation and the promotion of mutual understanding go along always with relief and construction.

The Fellowship Council, which is a creation of the Service Committee, aims to interpret the spirit and life of the Society of Friends and to draw together into a wider Quaker fellowship persons in all parts of the world who are in sympathy with Quaker ideals and the Quaker spirit.

Thus has grown into a world-wide movement the Committee which was born twenty years ago to open doors of healing service for Quaker youth who could not fight with carnal weapons.

The frontispiece shows portraits of Friends from many lands, expected to attend the Friends World Conference to be held at Swarthmore and Haverford, Pennsylvania, in the first week of September, 1937. The Chairman of the international Committee that has been planning the details of the Conference is Anna Griscom Elkinton, of Moylan, Pennsylvania; the presiding clerk of the sessions is to be Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford, Pennsylvania.

These portraits were gathered by the Committee, and kindly placed at the disposal of the BULLETIN.

FRIENDS IN HOLLAND IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

By Maria C. Heldring Bye

DURING the nineteenth century the Society of Friends, which during the previous century had been vital as a Quaker movement, had died out in the Netherlands.

In the beginning of the twentieth century we find among other tendencies two outstanding trends of thought. On one side there were the conservatives trained in the rigid theological doctrines of Calvinism, and on the other side there were the liberals. The members of the first group stoically disciplined themselves to kill all emotion by adhering to orthodox dogmas; the latter group on the other hand was held in the cold embrace of materialism.

Editor's Note.—The history of Quakerism in Holland is yet to be written. The Dutchman Willem Sewel, who was so vitally interested in Quakerism, mentions the spread of Quakerism in Holland in Chapters 6, 7, and 9, but devotes most of his attention to developments in Great Britain, so that the detailed story we might have had from a skilful historical writer, with access to the original data, was never written.

Braithwaite, in *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* pp. 406-413, gives an outline of the missionary work of William Caton and John Stubbs in Holland in 1655, and of William Ames and Stubbs the following year, as a result of which meetings were started at Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The Dutch outpost was used as a basis for further missionary work on the Continent. Quakerism flourished, spread to some ninety-five Dutch towns, was persecuted, and declined, until finally there was but one Quaker left, Jean Etienne Mollet, who died in 1851. The minutes of Friesland Monthly Meeting, held at Harlingen, were discovered at Devonshire House in London by William I. Hull; the minutes of Amsterdam meetings were known to William Savery when he visited Amsterdam in 1797, but cannot now be found. It is thought that they may have been taken to London for safe keeping, and destroyed in the fire of the Grace Church Street Meeting House, of 1831.

The entire course of Quakerism in Holland is receiving definitive treatment at the hands of William I. Hull, in a series of monographs published under the auspices of the Howard M. Jenkins Research Professorship of Quaker History in Swarthmore College. Three of the monographs have appeared; nine more are planned.

This article and the following one treat of the rebirth of Quakerism in Holland in the twentieth century.

The need for true Christianity was as strong as ever, but present religious values had to be recoined.

It was in 1904 that students from the University of Leiden began to go to Woodbrooke, the Seminary of the Friends in the neighborhood of Birmingham, England, where Rendel Harris was director of studies. Dr. Harris had declined to accept a professorship at Leiden University the previous year, realizing that his influence would have a wider scope if he remained in his own country.

However, England was the point of departure for the re-establishment of Quakerism in the Netherlands. In the four years which followed, between thirty and forty people from the Netherlands became students at Woodbrooke. There they found warmth in the friendly atmosphere of this hospitable center, where in the common room they assembled to sing Newman's hymn, "Lead kindly light, lead thou me on." They got acquainted with Whittier's hymn, "Dear Lord and Father of mankind," and contemplated the meaning of "Drop thy still dews of quietness till all our strivings cease." These intellectual Dutchmen, who delighted in theological controversies, began to understand now the power of silent worship, called to mind again and again by the semicircular lunette over the mantelpiece in the library representing Peter Martyr with his index finger on his lips, symbol of the practice of silent worship. After these students returned home they held meetings every few months, meetings which began in the Quaker manner with a period of silence.

On December 28, 1908 (the day of the Messina earthquake), thirty young people (probably all under thirty years of age) gathered in the home of Jan Lodewijk Heldring (my father) in one of the old houses along an Amsterdam canal, Heerengracht 388, and here the "Society for old Woodbrookers in Holland" came into existence. Two years later, inspired by one of Leiden's theological students, G. H. van Senden, this society had begun its work in our country and with youthful daring it made a bold attempt to invite conservatives and liberals to a summer conference. The participants, indifferent as to their religious convictions, were speakers as well as listeners. The only demand made was

that partakers in the conference should gather in "moral sincerity and with a true desire to find God."

It was difficult for this first group to survive. G. H. van Senden, who published a paper he called *Omhoog,* meaning "On High," was an impractical mystic, who lived in a high intellectual sphere, believing that Platonic love in marriage was the only value of such a union. He had as his highest ideal the searching sense of the mediaeval monks in the seclusion of their monasteries. After a while his publication *Omhoog* ceased, and today van Senden is no longer associated with the Quaker movement. He is known in Holland to be an advocate of those who adhere to 'psychic monism,' a philosophy which lends itself to multifarious explanations.

Another leader among the old Woodbrookers was Kees Boeke, who married one of the well known Cadbury girls of Selly Oak, Birmingham. He forwent his claims to the big fortune which his wife was to inherit from her father and out of principle refused to pay all taxes to the government, claiming that the proceeds of the same were to be used for the army and for armaments. More than once his furniture was carried out of his house and sold at auction while his wife and children were left on bare mattresses with scant covering.

By this time a Quaker meeting had been established in Bilthoven, where the Boekes lived. However, no one ever ventured to break the silence of these meetings unless Kees had given the first message. He realized himself the failure of such meetings, but when he withdrew the meeting lost its vitality and in 1922 was dissolved entirely.

THE fanatical ideas of these leaders were a deterrent to the spread of Quakerism, and the movement came to the end of its brief existence. In 1929 a new group of mutual friends decided to hold a "meeting after the manner of Friends." In the beginning the number varied from five to eight. The founders of this little meeting were acquainted with Quakerism in England and the meetings were held in a building in the Beerenstraat in the center of Amsterdam which centuries ago had been in the possession of Dutch Quakers.

In 1934 this meeting for worship moved to another center, called the "Quaker Student Hostel," also located in Amsterdam and patterned after a similar hostel in Geneva. Meetings were held also in den Haag (The Hague), in Haarlem, in Ommen, and, during the last few months, in Bilthoven and Bussum. It is evident that during the last few years the Society of Friends in Holland has grown quickly.

A new monthly publication called *de Vriendenkring* ("the Friendly Circle") has reached its eighth year of existence. The Society counts fifty actual members, but there are countless friends of Friends who take part in the meetings.

It is not in the spirit of the present Society to mention leaders. However, Anton Kalff is clerk of the present Yearly Meeting of the Society in Holland. Jim Lieftinck, who is a delegate to the World Conference, and Robert Limburg, are well known Friends. The most important practical result now to be evidenced in Holland is the Quaker school in Ommen, under German and Dutch management. This school grew out of the desire of German parents who were out of sympathy with the present German government to secure for their children an escape from the disapprobation with which other children, once their playmates, regarded them; now, after three years, it has upwards of 100 pupils, of several nationalities. Another home is one in Haarlem of which Manfred and Lilly Pollatz are directors.

The success of these institutions, which interpret the idea of service, a principle so closely related to the Quaker faith, proves that independent religious theories are not enough to obtain a following under the younger generation. The strong call for service is essential to give the movement the vitality it needs to survive.

May this brief synopsis of the re-establishment of Quakerism in Holland in this century be helpful in welcoming the delegates of this young and struggling meeting and may we give them to understand that their efforts are an inspiration to us.

FRIENDS IN HOLLAND IN THE LATER TWENTIETH CENTURY

By Jim Lieftinck

IN 1829 died the last Quaker in Holland, whose name was John Mollet. In 1928 there was a new rise of Quakerism in Holland. The gap between does not show any Quaker life at all. Yet between John Mollet and the rise in 1928 there are connections.

I will not tell about the Quakerism of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in the Netherlands; that can be found and more fully and more adequately in the old annals; but I will give a short survey of present Quaker life in Holland, since 1928.

It was at a gathering of old Woodbrookers in the Hague, in October 1928, that two of them invited my wife and me to share with them in the experiment of adopting a devotional meeting for worship after the manner of Friends, in Amsterdam, as all of us four were living in Amsterdam. The first meeting would take place in the room of an English Quaker lady, who lived in Amsterdam also. We gladly accepted the invitation, as we had such deep and rich remembrances of those meetings at the time we were at Woodbrooke, where we had first made acquaintance with Quaker thought.

After the first meeting we decided to continue the experiment; and gradually there came also more attenders, being invited by some of our little group. Some of these had also attended the meetings at Bilthoven of the Kees Boeke movement, the members of which were scattered since the movement had died out; and much of their life inspired our young group. These were the two main sources by which the group was fed in the beginning.

In another way, or rather many other ways, the soil had been prepared by Woodbrooke, already long before. In 1908 the movement Woodbrookers in Holland was established by a number of old Woodbrookers, and the thoughts and ideas brought by this society spread also among other denominations in Holland, the orthodox as well as the liberal Christians; though there had not been any group before that felt the need of adopting a Quaker

life. We felt that the necessary spread of Quaker thought and practice could only be produced, if there were adopted a well marked Quaker life. We were rather conscious of that.

In our second year, after having come together regularly every fortnight at the ordinary Dutch Church time, Sunday morning, we invited Carl Heath to be with us and give a series of lectures in different places for different sort of people. These meetings were, though not crowded, well attended and gave a new strong stimulus to our young group; and it was also on his instigation that we decided to form and to establish ourselves as an independent Yearly Meeting, which gave us a feeling of stronger responsibility.

Meanwhile there had come a meeting in the Hague also, where some other old Woodbrookers gathered together for devotional worship on Sunday morning; and we held our first Yearly Meeting in Bilthoven.

GRADUALLY but slowly we grew; we began to publish our meetings for worship in the press, but we felt that greater publicity should be avoided, as we had to grow into the depths of religious experience ourselves first, before we could be strong enough to be adequate publishers of our message.

In Amsterdam we had meanwhile moved to another place of worship. It was to the little school "Amsterdam's Welvaren" in the Berenstraat, well known to many foreign Friends, specially to those who were in Amsterdam for the International Friends' Conference in 1932. This little school, an infants' school, now used under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church, was first established in 1829, the year of John Mollet's death. It was he who, having visited England and seen Quaker schools of that type there, wanted to erect such institutions in Holland as well. There were however no funds and so he applied to London Yearly Meeting, and found out that there were still funds deposited by the late John Warder, an English Friend who had received insurance money for a Dutch cargo ship, called "Amsterdams Welvaren," which was captured in the Anglo-American war by an English man-of-war. This amount was deposited in order to remit it to the owners of the ship, when

the war should be over. In the course of the years and by good investments the amount had grown and English Friends were prepared to hold a certain part of the amount at the disposal of our Friend John Mollet. So the little school was established and was a blessing to many children in those days. A hundred years later other Dutch Friends would hold their devotional meeting for worship there.

A remarkable incident happened there in the beginning. It was on a wonderful sunny autumn Sunday, that the airship, *Graf Zeppelin* was to pay a visit to Amsterdam. It was expected to fly over at about 10 o'clock in the morning. As we knew from which side it would come, we found out that from one of the bridges near our little school, where we would have our meeting that morning at 11 o'clock, we could see the Zeppelin excellently. So we were all present at 10 o'clock, but after one hour the Zeppelin hadn't come yet. Many of us had never seen such an airship and were very disappointed. Nevertheless we decided to begin our meeting. After a quarter of an hour we heard the buzzing over our school and it would have been just one step to get out of the door and look at the sky, but none of us did so, and the depths to which this meeting for worship came belong to the richest experiences we ever had and were a stimulus to our group again.

In November 1932 occurred the International Conference of Friends, a new enrichment of the Netherlands Yearly Meeting, a new deepening of the life.

Nevertheless we grew slowly. Were we wrong in not publishing more of what we had received? If we had been stronger we could have done it, but we felt that the time was not there and that the right giving of a message is a gift from above. We have not to decide that. We always felt that we must do that which is required from us in a certain moment, when we have been in deep prayer and in pure contact with our Lord.

In 1933 there came the burden of refugees on Holland, and we wanted to be ready for these poor people, who were seeking refuge abroad. We established a little "foyer," where they would be safe. It was only open during two evening hours, as we felt this work could only be of value if we did it personally and not

by way of a paid person outside our group, who would be present all day. We wanted to do this work in a very personal way and so that it would also be an offer of home life. So every evening two different members of our group came there and devoted their love and energy to the refugees. After about three months however we had to close it, as there seemed to be no need any longer for it, partly owing to the dangerous and delicate position of the refugees themselves and partly owing to the fact that a big official society had opened a far better accommodation which was open all day and where the refugees could enter more unnoticed. But for our group life this work was very good; it was the first work we could do together and that meant very much.

The year 1934 was another year of much development. Owing to the urgent need abroad, the international Quaker school at the castle "Eerde" at Ommen in the eastern part of the country was established by Dutch, English and German Friends. This school consists now, after 3 years, of about 120 pupils and about 20 members of the staff and has mainly German and Dutch children and some of other nationalities, and is flourishing immensely under the direction of an excellent staff. The establishment of the school has largely been the work of our Friend Piet Ariens Kappers, who still devotes much of his time to it, especially with regard to official governmental regulations.

In Amsterdam two Friends, Jim and Luise Lieftinck-Merttens (my wife is the Austrian niece of the late Frederic Merttens), established the Quaker Student Hostel, where 15 students and workers of both sexes and of the many different denominations of Holland live together a life of happiness and friendship; in Haarlem two German Friends, Manfred and Lilly Pollatz with their children opened a home for Jewish refugee children and are carrying on a wonderful piece of Christian love. In the Hague some Friends have decided to live together in a community in one house, which is bought by one of them, and new meetings have sprung up in two neighbouring places of Amsterdam.

This is in a bird's-eye view about where we are now, and, *salve errore et omissione,* I hope that Friends have received from this picture an idea of the development of Friends' life in the Netherlands.

FRIENDS IN SWEDEN

By Emilia Fogelklou Norlind

THERE WERE four of us, mostly settlement workers, who began to meet together during the war. After having talked through personal, social, and other problems we sat together in silence. As there were no Quakers in Sweden (except our dear English-born Friend, Walter Harlock, whom we did not then know), we did not realize that we met in the Friends' way. It just came spontaneously. Three of us in time became the first Friends in Sweden.

Dagny Thorvall, B.A., the daughter of a state church rector, member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the first collaborator of N. Beskow in Birkagården Settlement, the very soul of which she became, was one of them. It was in her room we usually met. No fear had hindered her from going to different groups and parties, most labour, helping them with addresses and otherwise, as the true friend of them all, communists, syndicalists, social-democratic study circles, and different kinds of religious groups. There was no "learnedness" about her, in spite of all her capacity; they all felt her as their human sister. In those days the abyss between "the two nations" (from an economical point of view) was much deeper in Sweden than now. She did much to bridge over the mental distances between people who comfortably believed in God without an urgent need to make society a better place to live in, and people who believed in socialism without any use for a God.

Another of those four was Agda Hedvall, a true Franciscan, and an artistically gifted spirit, with a deep concern for the unemployed and for peace. Both these our "inaugurated saints" have now left this world.

In 1931 we joined London Yearly Meeting, not knowing that it already counted a young Swedish member. Another, our present clerk, devoted to international work and co-editor of *Mellanfolkligt samarbete*, came to us from Geneva. Now we are about thirty, and many more "friends of the Friends." Not a few came to us from Dagny Thorvall's study circles with religious topics. Most of our men members are industrial workers, except

the founder of Viggbyholmsskolan (where the Woodbrooke reunion took place in 1935). On the female side we represent social and educational work, nursing, or literary occupations.

In 1935 we had our first Swedish Yearly Meeting, so we are only a baby among the national groups of Friends. In Sweden most members of the free churches nominally remain within our state church, in many respects a very liberal type of Lutheran church. In comparison with the Society of Friends its inner structure has a more patriarchal and generally less co-operative organisation. To many of our members this means that the membership of the church acquires a less active and responsible citizenship than that of the state or the political group.

We talked these things over with the Swedish archbishop, Erling Eidem, who in a most friendly spirit came to see us, wanting to know the spiritual way into Quakerism of everybody present. We had hours together of very deep communion. We understood each other perfectly, and he blessed us for whatever way of service our conscience and love of Christ should lead us to, only asking us to make no hasty decisions and not to forget our old spiritual mother, the church. Two years later, in agreement with the archbishop, we applied to the government for having the Society of Friends recognised as one of those religious bodies to which transition from our state church is allowed.

This petition, which follows in English translation, has passed the different authorities. It has been cordially received, some formalities only lacking for its realisation.

Our meetings for worship take place in "the silent room" of Birkagården Settlement (started by Natanael Beskow and Ebba Pauli, both friends of the Friends). There too study circles dealing with Quaker principles meet every other Sunday; a Monday circle, every other week, treats Quaker history; and several vital groups of Young Friends—mostly friends of the Friends—gather to discuss topics in connection with the Friends' World Conference syllabus.

Two of us have started a hostel, where we have a social gathering once a week. There we house our Quaker library, not too small, thanks to the generosity of English and American givers. A few books, by Rufus Jones, Ruth Fry, Violet Hodgkin

Holdsworth, are translated into Swedish. We have also a few original books on Quaker topics: Emilia Fogelklou, *James Nayler, the Rebel Saint,* and *William Penn* with the undertitle: *A Book on Conscience and State.* Our broadcasting company and a communal lecturing institute have given time to public addresses on Quakerism. The income has been used for our international service.

Last year a number of refugees (twelve), mostly Germans, were our summer guests in a little cottage by the sea. Other people, organisations and individuals, helped us financially to give them a refreshing fortnight each together with their hosts, Quakers and others. To judge by the health and joy it promoted, it must have filled a great need.

Other Friends, founders of Viggbyholmsskolan, have taken the initiative to or given hospitality to several conferences on matters concerning peace and war. In a spirit of good will, military dignitaries together with pacifists have been invited to discussions, headed by expert addresses on political, social, psychological, and religious topics in connection with war and peace. These week-long courses were of a private nature, with invitations sent to individuals, not to organisations. No doubt the daily personal intercourse and the common meals and walks contributed to the spirit of mutual respect and understanding of one another's motives that grew up during the week. A later conference at Viggbyholm, to which the Fellowship of Reconciliation had invited clergymen and ministers, showed an unexpected interest in Quakerism, to which an evening was given outside the programme at the request of non-Friends.

We are concerned about Spain and wished to help in some way. Being ourselves financially very weak, we joined in with the first action started in Sweden. It emanated from our Labour Party. It was decided that whatever we might be able to gather, inside—or still more outside—our group, should be sent to Friends Service Committee in London for the Quaker aid in Spain.

As we are all of us people of small income, we felt from the beginning an inspiration to go some sort of a "Franciscan" way. Quite recently, however, we were surprised by the offer of a most beautifully situated summer house, near Stockholm, though

quite out of the common track. If we can only afford to keep it up and find its true aim and get financial support, we may be able to begin something there. Agda Hedvall always dreamt of summer retreats in a very simple manner of living, giving opportunities to hard-working peoples for quiet weeks, including silent hours for studies and meditation. The realisation of that idea might be combined with the moving over here of our German summer guests. We do not know what lies in store for us as servers. So far we have gone an easy bit of way, with much kindness shown to us from outsiders.

At our second Yearly Meeting last year at Viggbyholm, we were about a hundred Swedes present, mostly Friends of the Friends. We also had the great joy and assistance to welcome Friends from England, Germany, Holland, and Norway. Finland's only Friend (as far as we know)—Mikko Airila—was for the second time our Yearly Meeting guest. Only a fortnight later he met his death near his home in Finland, where he was found by the road kneeling by his bicycle.

A bond between the Scandinavian Friends through a common periodical was discussed at our Yearly Meeting. This plan is now a reality: three numbers of *Kvekeren* ("Quakers") have already been issued. It is edited in Norway, and each Scandinavian group contributes in its own language.

We stand at the beginning of our way. May we be found ready to serve, as The Inner Light will pour out its rays of revelation for our path, day by day, year by year.

APPLICATION OF SWEDISH FRIENDS TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR OFFICIAL RECOGNITION

Members of the Swedish Society of Friends (Quakers) apply to Your Majesty to get their organisation recognised as one of the Christian bodies to which transition from the State Church may be taken.

When the Society of Friends broke forth in the seventeenth century the historical background was a struggle for Christian democracy. Its structure therefore—contrary to all other Churches and Free Churches—became democratic instead of patriarchal. Men and women worked side by side not only in practical things but also in the ministry.

Through simplicity in forms without ordained ministers and sacraments Friends are more independent than other religious bodies as to time and place for their worship, where silent communion from the beginning was

more central than in other liturgies. This listening for guidance has been decisive for Friends' attitude towards Bible and inspiration.

Friends' radical pacifism is not a theory but an experience in the following of Christ, throwing away all violence and all coercion against any other person. We are only beginners as disciples to Him who said: "Love your enemies!"

Nowadays when there is a deep break between Christianity and democracy, the Society of Friends represents a close unity between them. Friends in Sweden therefore think that they might have a special message to people without a spiritual home, for instance people who after experience within one of the great democratic movements—the labour movement, the women's movement, etc.—do not feel at home in a patriarchally organised community. "One is your master, and all ye are brethren."

Evidence is given to Friends' Christian belief through 300-year-old testimonies in other countries, especially Great Britain and America. After the World War new Quaker groups have grown spontaneously in most countries in Europe. They are prepared to transfer their belief into ministry and action each in the spirit of its own nation. The Swedish group belongs to this late Quaker offspring. The Danish and Norwegian branches of the Society have a much longer history.

In 1931 and 1932 a few Swedish individuals were registered as foreign members of the English Society of Friends. Since then the group has grown and from May, 1935, it has been constituted as The Society of Friends in Sweden, recognised by the English organisation.

Many of us deeply love the Swedish Church and as our aim is not a separatistic one but only a way to a better and clearer realisation of our special message, we have at an early stage laid down our case before the Archbishop.

"For this is the true ground of love and unity, not that a man walk and do just as I do, but because I feel the same spirit and life in him," said one of the early Quakers (Isaac Pennington). Our application is in no sense caused by underestimation of other churches; its motive is simply our belief that we could better fulfil our special task if we even outwardly stand for what we are. We should then be more able to collaborate with other churches in all things which are common in Christian belief, without ever leaving the differences as unlighted and disturbing contrasts within the frame of the State Church.

After deep consideration and in conformity with other groups of the Society of Friends we have come to the decision to lay before Your Majesty our application that even in Sweden the Society of Friends may be counted amongst religious bodies to which transition from the State Church is possible and allowed.

[Signed in November, 1936, by eight members who had asked for resignation from their membership in the State Church, and thirteen members who had not sent in such resignation.]

QUAKERISM IN FRANCE

By Henry van Etten [1]

VERY likely one of the first French writers who made known the name of Quakers is Voltaire. Of his *Lettres philosophiques,* published in 1734, he dedicated four to a special study of them. His remarks about William Penn and Pennsylvania are most striking, especially coming from such an antireligious writer. It must be noticed also that at the beginning of the century, Robert Barclay's *Apology* had been translated into French (1702) as well as William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown* (1700), but no indigenous movement was known to Friends in England or America. And yet there was quite a group of inspired people in the south of France, in the mountains called "Cevennes." They also ignored the existence of Quakerism, though they had much in common. They were the descendants of the Camisards who had resisted the persecutions in the Cevennes after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). The pastors having disappeared, simple folk, men and women, used to travel about prophesying and preaching. They bore several names: "Inspirés de la Vaunage" (The Inspired of the Vaunage) or the "Gonfleurs" (the "Swellers"—*gonfler,* to swell)—this last name being a nickname very much of the same kind as the word "Quaker." Its origin is unknown, though perhaps we may account for it by the same reasons as for "Quaker" in England.

The "Inspirés" believed in the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit, in nonresistance, in universal priesthood as well as in the ministry of women, etc., etc.

One must remember that Jean Etienne Benezet (1683-1751), father of Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), belonged to that group.

[1] The author of this article is Secretary of the Executive Committee of the France Yearly Meeting, and Vice-Chairman of the Friends World Conference, 1937. He writes that most of the information here given comes from *Les Quakers français,* a historical study published in Nismes in 1898 by Pastor Ed. Jaulmes for his degree in theology; from the *Life of William Savery* by Francis R. Taylor; and from the *Book of Discipline* of the Congénies Friends, in possession of the France Yearly Meeting.

He had been obliged to leave southern France in 1715. The rest of his life was spent in Rotterdam, in London, where he joined Friends, and finally in Philadelphia. Paul Codognan was another of those "Inspirés." He joined Friends in England in 1769 after a trip in Holland where he met some of them.

It is only around 1785 that the English Society of Friends came across the little group in the south of France. Through an advertisement in the Paris papers by an English Friend named Fox, who wished to restore some prize money to the rightful owners, the French "Inspirés" discovered that there was a Society in England holding similar views to their own.

Two months after this, Friend Fox received a letter (in French) addressed as follows: "The Quakers of Congénies-Calvisson to the virtuous Fox" and signed by five members of this group. Soon after, the French Quakers sent one of their members, Jean de Marsillac, to London with a long letter setting forth their religious views to "their brothers and faithful friends, the true Christians or Quakers of England, in London."

Back from London, bearer of a special Epistle to the group, Jean de Marsillac organized the French Society, which had about 200 members, most of them residing in Congénies near Nismes. Very likely the transformation of the group of the Inspired into a French Society of Friends took place in May, 1788—this according to an old register which bears the words: "Written on the 26th of 5th Month 1788."

Under the influence of English Quakers, they took some of their habits, for instance to say "thee" and "thou" to everybody, to wear dark clothes, to say "First Day" and "First Month," etc. During the Great Revolution, several refused to become soldiers. A petition was even presented to the National Assembly presided over by Mirabeau, on Thursday, February 10, 1791, requesting relief from the oath and the bearing of arms.

Congénies became the centre of this Society. Several villages had Quakers among their inhabitants and they hold a place quite apart from the Protestants (or the Catholics, who are still very few in this region).

A school was started by one of their leaders, Louis Majolier, and it lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. A meet-

ing house—the only one ever built in France—still exists in Congénies, but the meetings were discontinued about thirty or forty years ago, according to declarations of people still living and remembering attendance at the meetings during their youth.

It is interesting to remember that Elizabeth Fry, Stephen Grellet, and William Savery visited the meetings in Congénies several times during their lives, in 1807, 1813, 1820, and 1839, etc.

A beautiful and peaceful burial ground, with about forty tombs without names—only initials—attached to the meeting house, is still well kept in order under the care of the new "Yearly Meeting of France," whose center is no longer in the south but in the capital, Paris.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the little groups of Friends have constantly diminished in spite of the school opened in Nismes, rue de la Cité-Foulc (some of its students are still living). Many of their young men went to America to avoid military service, some became Protestants (Reformed or Methodist), and except for two very old ladies, now members of the newly-formed "France Yearly Meeting," the Congénies Friends have ceased to exist.

The history of Friends in France may be divided in two chapters, and we may say that the first chapter was closed about forty years ago; the second chapter beginning in 1916 when the writer of this article was the first of the new generation to join the English Society of Friends through Justine Dalencourt. That French Friend, who had joined Quakers in England, in 1870, had been the link for forty-six years between the first and the second chapters of our little history. Only Friend in Paris, she had kept meetings for worship in her own house during all that time and she had been known all over Quakerdom for more than half a century. She died in 1928, ninety years old, beloved by three generations of people she had helped during her long life through her three mission stations in Paris.

The second chapter began during the World War. From 1916 on and nearly every year since, new members were enlisted. An allowed monthly meeting was first started, then a regular monthly meeting under London Yearly Meeting was set up in 1927, which was transformed into a Yearly Meeting at the beginning of 1933.

The first "clerk" was René Valton, who died in 1934 and who has not yet been replaced. An Executive Committee of seven members takes now the place of the clerks.

Its organ is *L'Echo des Amis,* now in its sixteenth year. Its circulation is about 700 and it is published nine or ten times a year. It has increased its regular subscribers last year by twenty-five per cent.

Besides the Executive Committee, there are two subcommittees, one called "Committee of Social Study and Action," which deals with problems concerning peace and social questions; the other called "Quaker Study Circle," preparing studies and discussions on Quaker religious subjects. Prison work has always been also one of the main activities of the Yearly Meeting. Several Friends have been and are still engaged in this work in Paris, Strasbourg, Marseille, Le Havre.

The collaboration of the Yearly Meeting with the International Quaker Centre in Paris is very intimate and their relations are the most happy. The Quaker Centre is concerned with peace, prison reform, and students and refugees from Germany. It was founded in 1920, at 20, Av. Victoria, and transferred to the present location, 12, rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, in the Latin Quarter, in 1928.

It is thanks to the continuous help of American and English Friends, that the little Yearly Meeting in France, with its 100 members and associate members, could come to life. Most of our literature in French (George Fox's *Journal,* Friends' *Discipline, Conscription and Conscience,* etc., etc.) has been translated and printed, thanks to the financial subsidies from the United States and from England as well.

Our debt of gratitude cannot be overestimated and I am glad of this opportunity now given to me to express to them our deep thankfulness on behalf of French Friends.

QUAKER BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES [1]

By Henry J. Cadbury

II. Antislavery Writings

10. The Earliest Writings

EVERYONE who has studied the first century of Quaker protest against slavery knows how little sympathy both within and without the Society the early protesters secured. The following bibliographical notes make an interesting commentary on this opposition.[2] It would seem that the hostility is responsible for the fact that so many of the protests either were not published or if published were so little regarded as to have almost or entirely disappeared. The printed items today are all very scarce. It will be observed that while several of them are in Friends Reference Library in London not more than one of them has been located in any single library in America.

[1] Continued from the *Bulletin,* vol. 24 (1935), p. 93.

[2] This article aims to deal only with the bibliographical data. The principal biographical and historical literature would include: Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament,* 1808, Chapter v; R. Vaux, *Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford,* 1815; Edward Bettle, "Notices of Negro Slavery Connected with Pennsylvania," in *Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs,* i (1826), pp. 351-388; L. M. Child, *Memoir of Benjamin Lay,* 1842; Nathan Kite, *A Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends against Slavery and the Slave Trade,* 1843; "The Society of Friends," in *Anti-Slavery Advocate* (London), No. 7 (1853), p. 49 ff. (continued); James Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America,* 1854, ii, pp. 176-221; "Biographical Sketches" in *The Friend* (Phila.), xxviii (1855), p. 293 ff. (four instalments); "Early Anti-Slavery Advocates," *ibid.,* xxix, p. 85 ff. (ten instalments); Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism,* 1860, pp. 328-359; "Progress of Anti-Slavery among Friends," in *Friends Intelligencer,* xxxi (1874), pp. 91 ff., 120 f.; A. C. Thomas, "The Attitude of the Society of Friends towards Slavery," etc., in *Papers of the American Society of Church History,* viii (1897), pp. 263-299; Thomas E. Drake, *Northern Quakers and Slavery* (still unpublished); Gideon Frost, "Remarks on Slaveholding as Practiced by Early Friends," in *Non-Slaveholder,* ii (1847), p. 199.

The first written protests against slavery by Friends were not published. The now famous Germantown petition of Dutch Friends (1688) was entirely lost to view, known only from minutes which report its rejection, until 1844.[3] In that year Nathan Kite, who had just written a *Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends against Slavery and the Slave Trade,* found the original manuscript and published it in the Philadelphia *Friend.*[4]

At Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1696 the minutes report that "several papers have been read relating to the keeping and bringing of negroes." That by Cadwallader Morgan alone seems to be extant. It has not yet been published.[5]

The first printed paper against slavery, *An Exhortation & Caution to Friends concerning buying or keeping of Negroes,* was not issued by Friends in good standing but by the Keith party at "our Monethly Meeting in Philadelphia, the 13th day of the 8th Month, 1693." The only copies that I know of are two at Friends Reference Library, London, and one at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence. As a Bradford imprint it would today be of much value.[6]

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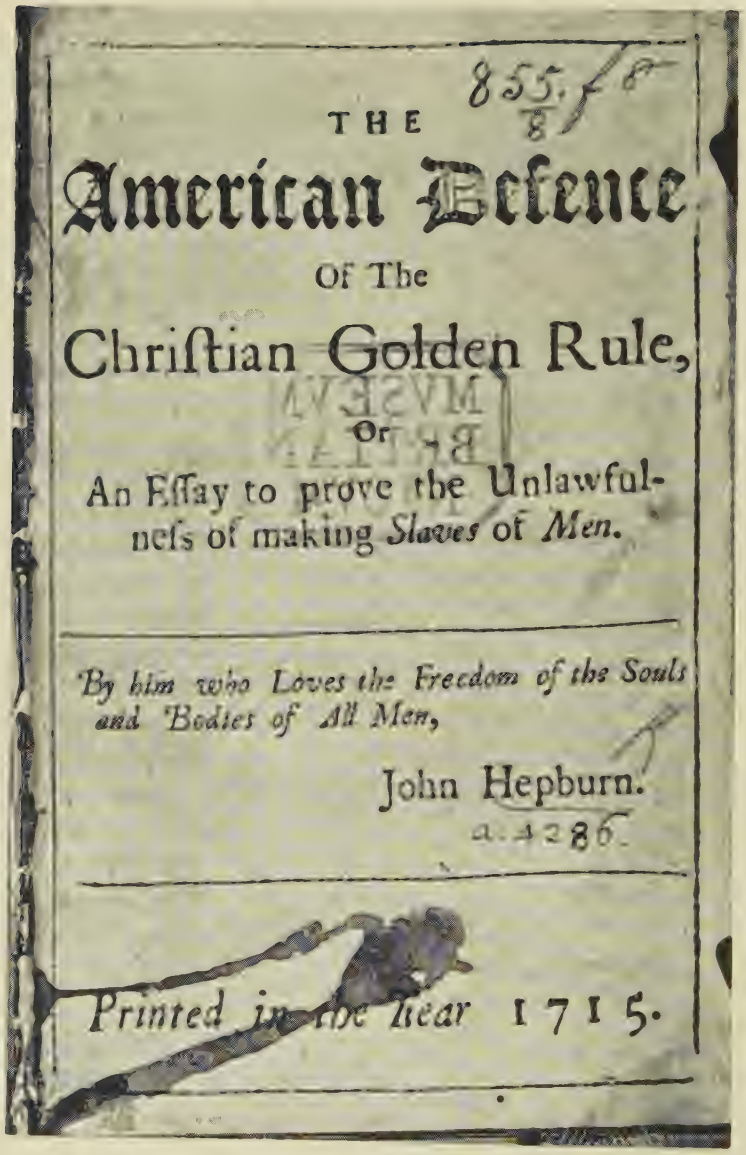
[3] Bettle, "Notices," etc., *loc. cit.,* p. 365, wrote in 1826: "We have used many endeavors to abtain a copy of this highly interesting document but are sorry to believe that neither the original nor a copy is in existence;" and Kite, *op. cit.,* p. 8, in 1843: "Diligent search has been made at various times for the paper spoken of in the above extract, and there is reason to fear that it is no longer extant."

[4] Vol. 17, p. 125, 1 mo. 13, 1844. It has been republished, most recently in William I. Hull's *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania,* 1935, p. 297 ff. The original is at Friends Record Room, 304 Arch Street, not (as there stated, p. 294 note) at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The whereabouts of the original was unknown when Oswald Seidensticker published his account of Pastorius in 1872. See *Friends Intelligencer,* xxix, p. 83.

[5] Its publication in Drake, *op. cit.,* may be expected shortly. See *Bulletin,* 23 (1934), p. 96 f. Another paper against slaveholding written in 1698 by Robert Pyle of Chester County I expect to publish in the *Journal of Negro History* for October 1937.

[6] The Keithian piece was reprinted from the copy in London in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* xiii (1889), 265 ff. (with separate offprints). According to a letter written by Benjamin Franklin, November 4, 1789 (see note 10), a copy of Keith's pamphlet


THE
American Defence
Of The
Christian Golden Rule,
Or
An Eſſay to prove the Unlawfulneſs of making Slaves of Men.
By him who Loves the Freedom of the Souls and Bodies of All Men,
John Hepburn.
Printed in the Year 1715.

Title Page of Hepburn's *American Defence Of the Christian Golden Rule*

Scarce likewise is the next piece to be mentioned, *The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule, or an Essay to prove the Unlawfulness of Making Slaves of Men* (by him who loves the Freedom of the Souls and Bodies of all Men, John Hepburn. Printed in the year 1715.) This is a 94-page octavo book, but copies at the British Museum and the Boston Public Library (the latter lacking the title page and text pages after page 40) are perhaps the only ones in existence. It is generally supposed that the author, who calls England his native land, was living and writing in America, perhaps in New Jersey, and that his book was printed in England. But nothing is known about him and it is really only circumstantial evidence that makes us regard him as a Friend. He mentions various Friends including John Saltkill (Salkeld) and Thomas Chalkley, "who openly bear their testimony against this abomination in their public assemblies," but adds nothing to our list of printed antislavery items except the *American Defence* (see reproduction of title page opposite).

What he says in this full and interesting preface anticipates by over two centuries the conclusions drawn in this note respecting the scarcity of antislavery writings, the hesitation of authors to appear in print against the custom, and the rapid disappearance of such protests as were made public. He writes: "And now, Reader, I am going to show thee a wonder, and that is, this thirty years I have been in America this practice has been carried on in almost profound silence. . . I have lain dormant above this thirty years. . . I was silent so long because I waited for my betters to undertake the works; and if any had appeared in this work, it is like I had been silent still." Referring to the few earlier publications [7] he complains: "But the most of all those writings I doubt

was then in his possession. It was, however, practically unknown until C. R. Hildeburn, a century later, unearthed and identified the copy then reprinted.

[7] The Quaker pieces by Fox and Keith and some references by non-Friends (John Tillotson and Cotton Mather). Two pieces he reprints *in extenso* in his book. One is from the *Athenian Oracle,* second edition, London 1704; the other, written according to J. H. by another hand, a piece apparently unknown to bibliographers in general and bibliographers on slavery, "Arguments against Making Slaves of men. Written by a native of America, September 14, 1713." The first of these may be by a Friend, but very likely none of the three authors involved was a Friend.

are destroyed by negro masters; that the reader will find them almost as scarce to be found as the Phenix Egg." [8]

About the same time (1714 to 1718) papers against slavery were published and circulated in Philadelphia, New York, and New England by William Southeby and John Farmer. This fact and the several dates are inferred from the minutes of Friends in the places named, which everywhere disapprove of the papers or at least of their publication without authority. One of Southeby's papers may date as early as 1696. Each of these men was publicly reprimanded for his activities and perhaps disowned. William Burling of Long Island at the same time issued a similar manifesto. But not one of these is preserved in original printed form or in manuscript,[9] except that part of a paper of Burling's appears in the book of Benjamin Lay, shortly to be mentioned.

Of Ralph Sandiford very little is known, except what can be learned from the contents of his antislavery book. In the first edition of 1729 this book was entitled *A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times,* etc. The second edition of 1730 has additions and a quite different title, prefixing, for example, the words *The Mystery of Iniquity.* The author explicitly admits

[8] Since Pastorius was involved in the earliest Quaker petition of 1688 it is interesting to know that his library came later to include both the earliest printed pieces (Keith and Hepburn) now so rare, and also Fox's *Gospel Family-Order,* which was reprinted (I think at Philadelphia) in 1701. See M. D. Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius,* 1908, pp. 257, 278. Pastorius copied out much of Hepburn's book in his unpublished miscellany, *The Beehive.* It was largely reprinted by Samuel Allinson, Jr., in the *Non-Slaveholder* (ii (1847), 148 f.; iii (1848), 211 f.) from a copy signed by his ancestor "Thomas Scattergood, 1730." This may be the mutilated copy which Enoch Lewis mentions in 1851 as having been before him (*Friends Review,* v, 88).

[9] The anonymous author of *A Poetical Epistle to the Enslaved Africans,* Philadelphia 1790 (see page 51), wrote of Burling's tracts: "Some of them were printed, but they are now very scarce" (p. 13). The author of "Biographical Sketches" (*The Friend* (Philadelphia), xxviii, p. 310) wrote in 1855: "Much inquiry and research has been made to find a copy of any one of the printed papers issued by William Southeby but without success. They were probably mere pamphlets which no one deemed of sufficient consequence to preserve."

that he publishes without permission and excuses himself therefor (1729, p. 21). Not the Society of Friends but the civil officers of Pennsylvania (who were equally Quaker) tried by threats of punishment to prevent the circulation of this work and only a few copies can now be located. They lack, prudently enough, the name of the printer, reading simply "Printed for the author." But in a letter written sixty years later Benjamin Franklin acknowledged that he was the printer.[10] Copies of the first edition are at the Huntington Library, at Haverford College, and at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; of both editions at Friends Reference Library, London.

Of Benjamin Lay we have much more information;[11] we have at least a number of amusing anecdotes and even a ridiculous-looking portrait. He was probably very peculiar and whether for his outspokenness on slavery or for his peculiarity was never in good standing with Friends, and in later life not even a member. His book, printed in 1737, also by Benjamin Franklin, as the letter already cited tells us, lives up to the expectation of its vituperative title, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates.* It also is very rare. The only copy I know of in an American library is at the Ridgway Library, Philadelphia.[12] There are two copies at Friends Reference Library, London, one of them imperfect, and one copy at Manchester (Midgley Reference Library).

The first pamphlet to be published with approval of an official body of Friends, and indeed the only one so approved before 1754 when the first publications on the subject from the pens of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet were issued,[13] comes from Nantucket. It is Elihu Coleman's *A Testimony against that Anti-*

[10] For Franklin's letter see *The Friend* (London), xvii (1859), p. 41. It has been republished in various other contexts. There is a modern MS copy of Sandiford's first edition at Boston Public Library.

[11] A considerable amount of detail about Benjamin Lay from meeting records in England has been made available just recently by C. Brightwen Rowntree in the *Journal of Friends Historical Society,* xxxiii (1936), pp. 3-19. Cf. *ibid.,* xxii (1925), pp. 72-74.

[12] A copy is owned also by Mrs. George Vaux, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

[13] That Benezet was the author of the draft of the *Epistle of Caution and Advice concerning the Buying and Keeping of Slaves* issued by

Christian Practice of Making Slaves of Men, published I think in 1733. Of the original edition there are copies at the Library Company of Philadelphia and at Friends Reference Library, London. It was reprinted in 1825 at New Bedford; and reprinted again in 1933, for private circulation, without place or date, by Lydia S. Hinchman, from a copy in her possession.[14]

One writer among southern Friends may be mentioned, Thomas Nicholson of North Carolina. A paper of his dated 1767 *On Keeping Negroes,* in manuscript, is at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. At the Yearly Meeting for the provinces of North and South Carolina, 11 mo. 23, 1774, two manuscripts by the same writer were examined and approved for publication, *The Light upon the Candlestick,* and *Liberty and Property.* Whether the former dealt with slavery I do not know, but the latter related, according to the minutes, "to altering the Law in Relation to freeing Negroes." There is no evidence that any of these were published at the time.[15]

Not even English Friends provided any antislavery literature in this period. Visitors like John Bell (1741) only advised kind treatment of the slave in their epistles. A rather searching epistle

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1754 is now made certain by the minutes. In the same year Woolman published with permission the first half of *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes.* In connection with other evidence of retarded conscience among Friends officially it is worth recalling that Woolman had waited eight years to publish this, having written it in 1746. See A. M. Gummere, *Journal and Essays of John Woolman,* 1922, pp. 29, 173, 334.

[14] It was also reprinted in the *Friends Review,* v (1851), p. 84 f., 102 ff. The original manuscript of Coleman's essay is at the Nantucket Historical Society, dated "29th of ye 11mo 1729-30." The same date appears in the printed edition. It therefore had waited three years or more for publication. Unfortunately he does not name but only mentions the "many sober men that had spoken against this practice, both by writing and in their [Quaker] public assemblies, whom I could name."

[15] A testimony of Thomas Nicholson was written by John Pemberton and published half a century after the latter's death in *The Friend* (Philadelphia) in four instalments, beginning vol. xvii (1844), p. 404. Then at last Nicholson's brief *Considerations on Slavery,* written about 1770, was published (vol. xviii, p. 13). Manuscript and printed pieces on other subjects by this author are known.

on the subject by William Edmundson has still never been published in full, though some sentences were quoted in print in 1843 and later.[16] There was in fact apart from a few words of caution in the Epistles of London Yearly Meeting only George Fox's *Gospel Family-Order* (1676, reprinted in 1701) for the antislavery advocates to cite, and his words on the subject went no further than to advise emancipation after a term of years (he originally said thirty years).

11. David Cooper

A FEW years ago in reading all the tracts by Anthony Benezet I was impressed with the stylistic difference, not to say superiority, of one of them, *A Mite Cast into the Treasury.* There is a different manner of argument and a greater originality and compactness of thought. This impression was still remembered when I discovered by accident the cause. The author of the tract is not Benezet at all, but David Cooper, who in a manuscript diary still preserved speaks at length about writing it.

"As I have at times for many years past, felt my mind warmly affected with a sense of the cruelty and wickedness of slavery, and its inconsistency with Christianity, these feelings led me in 1772 to publish a piece entitled 'A Mite into the Treasury, or Considerations on Slavery.' As I chose not to expose my name . . . I published the piece, which was soon sold off and a second edition called for."

Another piece is mentioned in the same diary under 1783: "In the first month of this year, it often occurred to my mind that a use might arise from collecting and publishing some of the most striking statements of Congress in favor of liberty, with parts of the constitutions of some of the American states on the same subject, contrasted by the idea of tolerating slavery. . . In the second month I completed it for the press." The piece thus admirably described is the well-known *Serious Address to the Rulers of America* subscribed "February 1783 A Farmer."

The earliest lists of Benezet's works include neither of these works, e.g. Comly, *Miscellanies,* iii (1832), p. 109. But Joseph

[16] Kite, *op. cit.,* p. 7. *The Friend* (Philadelphia), lxi (1887), p. 68, where it is wrongly attributed to George Fox.

Smith in his Catalogue, 1867, i, 244, lists the *Serious Address* under Benezet with "Query, A.B.'s?" Joseph Sabin, two years later in his *Dictionary of Books Relative to America,* ii (1869), p. 69, mentioning Smith's attribution of this book to Benezet, adds: "in which supposition I think he is mistaken. I incline to think that *A Mite Cast into the Treasury,* Philadelphia, Joseph Crukshank, 1785, is by Benezet." Evans in his *American Bibliography* lists both pieces as Benezet's without question. It is almost certain that Benezet helped circulate both of these and since their anonymous author so resolutely kept his identity unknown it was natural that they should gravitate to the name of the well-known Benezet. Neither of them betrays its Quaker origin by its language. The *Serious Address* uses the "heathen" names for months, July, October, etc., and refers quite impersonally to "Quakers." Its authorship was evidently not known even within the sympathetic circle of Quakerism. In a letter from "I. P." to his brother John Pemberton at London, dated Philadelphia, 7 mo. 19, 1783, we read: "A fresh publication on the subject is lately come out here entitled 'A Serious Address to the Rulers of America.' . . It is a performance which merrits (*sic*) attention being close and pointed, and the arguments which have been published by the professing advocates for Liberty turned upon themselves." [17] The *Mite* is apparently not referred to at all in Smith.

The anonymous publication caused the author some concern. He wrote: "As I chose not to expose my name it put me into a strait whether it would be right to publish it without being laid before the overseers of the press: there being a rule of our Society enjoining Friends to submit their performances to such inspection before publication. And although I intended no one but the printer should know the author, this did not satisfy me. If it was requisite in all cases, I should be an offender and my hands would be weakened in supporting other branches of our discipline. But I considered that the object of the rule was to

[17] Pemberton Papers (at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) vol. 39, 73 ff. Modern librarians often attribute these pieces to John Dickinson, presumably because he used the pseudonym, "An American Farmer."

guard the reputation of the Society, and that any performance for which the Society was not answerable nor its reputation thereby affected, said rule could not be supposed to reach. This consideration perfectly satisfied me." The same anonymous procedure was used by Benezet who, as David Cooper reports in 1783 to his son-in-law, had found difficulties in publishing such essays with Friends' approval. In fact, Cooper thinks his secret is almost betrayed by Benezet.

A third anonymous piece may be identified in the same way as the preceding as the work of David Cooper. It also has the pseudonym "A Farmer" but it deals with the abuse of taverns in selling strong drink even contrary to law, and with the customs of horse racing and shooting matches. It is well written and indicates a little more of the author's personality though not of his sect. He writes explicitly for the good citizens of New Jersey, and refers to the fact that there were when he wrote five Taverns "from Cooper's Ferries to Salem in the distance of five miles and a half." To indicate the better control of taverns elsewhere he quotes his own observations when traveling lately in three of the New England States and the observations of a kinsman who was in France a considerable time during the late war. The kinsman I do not identify, but that David Cooper visited New England in 1781 is shown on the numerous manuscript lists of "Public Friends Visiting New England," where he is entered as "Haddonfield, New Jersey, not public." In fact, most of his life was spent in the neighborhood of Woodbury, Gloucester, or Salem. He was for perhaps eight years beginning in 1761 an elected member of the New Jersey House of Assembly, a group of twenty-four legislators of whom seven at the time were Friends. This experience no doubt explains his interest in legislative matters evinced in his pamphlets. A brief memoir of him appeared in Comly, *Miscellany,* viii (1836), 337 ff., and a long-continued series of Notices of David Cooper by W. J. Allinson in the *Friends Review,* vols. xv and xvi, ran from 3 mo. 15, 1862 to 1 mo., 1863. From this account my quotations have been taken,[18] but the evidence though so long available has not appar-

[18] xv. pp. 722 ff. The original MS is in the possession of Caroline Allinson at Yardville, N. J.

ently penetrated bibliographical circles. They would present it somewhat as follows:

Cooper, David (1724/5-1795) of Woodbury, New Jersey.

A Mite Cast into the Treasury: or, Observations on Slave-keeping
Philadelphia Printed by Joseph Crukshank [1772][19]
Hildeburn 2748 Evans 12323
Philadelphia, Printed 1772 To be had at most of the booksellers in Town
Hildeburn 2747 Evans 12322 Sabin 49750
Philadelphia, Printed by Joseph Crukshank [1785][19]
Evans 18928 Sabin 49750

A Serious Address to the Rulers of America on the Inconsistency of their Conduct respecting Slavery: forming a contrast between the encroachments of England on American Liberty and American injustice in tolerating slavery
Trenton: Printed by Isaac Collins 1783
Evans 17839 Sabin 79248
London, Reprinted by J. Phillips, in George Yard, Lombard Street, 1783
Sabin 79249
[Liverpool] Printed in the Year 1784
Sabin 79250

An Enquiry into Public Abuses Arising for Want of a Due Execution of Laws Provided for the Suppression of Vice in the State of New-Jersey, etc.
Phila.: Printed and Sold by Hall and Sellers; also sold by Isaac Collins, Printer in Trenton: Thomas Redman, Haddonfield; and John Redman in Salem 1784
Hildeburn 4473 Sabin 53104 Evans 18458

12. Other Anonymous Pieces against Slavery

DAVID COOPER'S letter to Samuel Allinson mentioned above gives us a clue to the origin of other anonymous pamphlets. He writes as follows:

Woodbury 6 mo 15th, 1783

Loving Son,—I received the accompanying pieces this morning with two from thyself and a letter from Anthony Benezet. Why they are without

[19] The second and third items though separately listed are both undated and I suspect are really identical. One would have to compare the extant copies to see whether there is any typographical difference to support Evans in distinguishing the two.

date, or name of author or printer, I cant conceive, unless he has not consulted the overseers of the press, which I suppose has been the case, as he tells me the difficulties arising there have occasioned him to lay aside the essay upon which he had bestowed so much care. Thou'lt see he hath quoted the words of congress out of my manuscript which he ought not to have done. He tells me he hears there's a pamphlet on the same subject lately come out at Trenton, which he supposes to be mine, and proposes to have his and that stitched together; which is odd enough, as he knows how careful I was of having the author suspected. I regret he saw it, concluding I might near as well have put my name to it.[20]

From this it is evident that two pieces by Benezet were published without date or name of author or printer, one of them containing a quotation from the words of Congress used also in Cooper's piece. The latter is easily identified with the introduction to Abbe Raynal's piece as printed without place, date, or name of author or printer. The date and author may now be fixed as Benezet and 1783. The other piece of the same author and date is the brief *Notes on the Slave Trade.* Its character and circulation closely connect it with the piece just mentioned. It too may be assigned to Benezet and 1783.

The correspondence of Samuel Allinson helps date and identify two or three earlier anonymous pieces against slavery. Anthony Benezet writing to Samuel Allinson under date "Phila. the 14th of 12th mo. 1773" refers to a request for literature from Friends in southern Yearly Meetings, Thomas Nicholson of North Carolina and others. He suggests binding the pieces together in a book, naming particularly "[1] the account of Africa I last published, [2] those he has heard were published by a Presbyterian, [3] thine and [4] Wm Dilwyn's, with [5] another pamphlet formerly printed, of which I still have some by me."[21] The last of these is not sufficiently described to identify. The first is Benezet's *Historical Account of Guinea.* The second is

[20] *Friends Review,* xv (1862), p. 738. Now also in George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet,* 1937, p. 457 f. As the present article was prepared before the publication of the last-named excellent biography (see review, p. 54 of this issue) I was able to communicate to its author relevant data about Benezet herein contained and I can now refer to its printed texts of quotations which I originally made from MS.

[21] Brookes, *op. cit.,* 309. The MS of this is now at Haverford College.

Rush's *Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements,* with perhaps the *Vindication of the Address* (both 1773). But except in Smith's *Catalogue* bibliographers had not identified any works to correspond to 3 and 4 as by Samuel Allinson and William Dillwyn. The first of these is certainly the Burlington 1773 edition of Granville Sharp's *Essay on Slavery.* Its preface, much longer than the text itself, signed "The Editor," shows the hand of a lawyer, like Samuel Allinson. In fact, the London reprint attributes the preface to a "gentleman of the law in West Jersey." The other is of the same place and year and is entitled *Brief Considerations on Slavery, etc.* Smith, *Catalogue,* i, 533, associates Dillwyn with Allinson in the authorship of the first (contrast i. 69 "Anonymous") and Richard Smith and Daniel Wells with Dillwyn in the authorship of the second.[22]

Similar to the treatment of Granville Sharp's *Essay on Slavery* was that accorded to John Wesley's *Thoughts on Slavery* in its American reprint of 1774. The notes and additions more than double the length of the original work. There is no reference to the author of these augmentations, but again by means of private correspondence the authorship is definitely established. Writing to John Pemberton at London from Philadelphia, 10 mo. 8, 1783, Anthony Benezet mentions "John Wesly's Thoughts on Slavery which I reprinted here with necessary notes and additions."[23] The piece is often bound with other Benezet pieces, and the collection provided with a title page. It has been known that Benezet was the collector, but that he actually supplied the contents of this American reprint is perhaps not otherwise proved. Even in writing to Wesley, May 23, 1774, he merely says of it, "I immediately agreed with the printer to have it republished here."[24]

We may summarize the data obtained from these letters as follows:—

[22] A copy of the latter which has come down in the Dillwyn family papers is marked on the title page in a contemporary hand "W.D.'s." Smith's three names are doubtless derived from Clarkson, *op. cit.,* p. 161 (edition of Phila., 1808), where it is assigned, probably on the authority of the modest Dillwyn himself, to the same three authors.

[23] Pemberton Papers, vol. 39, p. 109. Brookes, *op. cit.,* p. 396.

[24] Brookes, *op. cit.,* p. 318.

Allinson, Samuel (-1791) of Burlington, New Jersey.

An Essay on Slavery . . by Granville Sharp . . with an introductory preface, etc.
Burlington; Printed and Sold by Isaac Collins, 1773
Evans 13005

Reprinted as an appendix to Granville Sharp, *The Just Limitation of Slavery in the laws of God*
London: B. White and E. & C. Dilly, 1776

Dillwyn, William (1743-1824) of New Jersey, later of Walthamstow, England.

Brief Considerations on Slavery and the Expediency of its Abolition, etc.
Burlington: Printed and Sold by Isaac Collins, 1773
Evans 12701

Benezet, Anthony (1713-1784) of Philadelphia

Thoughts upon Slavery. By John Wesley, A.M.
London printed; Re-printed in Philadelphia, with notes, and sold by Joseph Crukshank, 1774
Evans 13145 or 13146 or 13762 Hildeburn 3134

Notes on the Slave Trade. n. p., n. d. [Crukshank? 1781?]
Evans 17095 Sabin 4675 Hildeburn 3988 [1780?], 4080 [1781?]

Another edition. n. p., n. d. [Enoch Story? 1783?]
Evans 17838 Sabin 4675 Hildeburn 4271

Short Observations on Slavery: Introductory to Some Extracts from the writings of the Abbe Raynal, on that important Subject. n. p., n. d. [1783?]
Evans 17096 Sabin 4658 Hildeburn 3993 [1780?], 4081 [1781?]

13. Sansom's Poetical Epistle

MENTION was made above (page 42, note 9) of *A Poetical Epistle to the Enslaved Africans.* Though it belongs later than the items with which we have been dealing it deserves attention here for the reason that it too was anonymous yet probably by a Friend and particularly because the prose parts, described as "a brief historical introduction and biographical notices of some of the earliest Advocates for that class of our fellow creatures," constitutes it so far as I know the earliest history of the antislavery movement within or without the Society of Friends. Published by Crukshank in Philadelphia in 1790 it antedates the summary given by Clarkson by nearly two decades,

and it contains a considerable amount of detailed historical and biographical data. The clear references to the individuals and the official steps in the Society of Friends, regularly styled in the Friendly manner, suggest a Quaker author. It is not recognized in Smith's Catalogue. The copy at Haverford College has, it is true, on the title page the note "Not a Friend," but at the end of the same copy is another earlier note "Composed by Joseph Sansom." The second of these is probably authentic. I think it is in his own handwriting, and I further suspect that he is responsible for compiling the whole collection and providing it with a printed title page (apparently unrecorded by bibliographers) in which the five component pieces are named after the words, "A Collection of Pamphlets." [25] The same copy has noted in the same handwriting on the title page of another piece, a sermon of Thomas Colley's, that it was "taken in shorthand by Joseph Sansom." We know that Sansom took down other Quaker sermons in shorthand.[26]

Joseph Sansom was a man of letters among Philadelphia Friends of the time. He was interested in the founding of Westtown School and in the Friends Library at Philadelphia. He was the author of some volumes of travel. No doubt other facts about him are available from unpublished sources. The evidence here given is sufficient to include him among the Quaker antislavery writers.

FROM THE data given above several new insights concerning the antislavery literature published in America just before and just after the American Revolution can be recorded:

1. The bulk of the literature is anonymous. After the war this may have been in part due to the prejudice against Friends on account of their suspected lack of patriotism, but both before

[25] The first four pieces are: *An Inquiry into the Causes of Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians,* 1759; *The Remonstrance of the Friends of Philadelphia who were imprisoned,* etc., 1777; *A Sermon Preached by Thomas Colley in 1787; A Critical Examination of the Marquis de Chastellux Travels,* 1788.

[26] F. R. Taylor, *Life of William Savery,* 1925, pp. 441-5. It is possible that the unpublished material about him lately given to Haverford College will identify more clearly the extent of his anonymous literary activities.

and after the war it is due to the official censorship in the Society of Friends. Evidently they were cautious about the manner in which their members expressed themselves against slavery. Probably a *magnum opus* of Benezet's never reached publication just for this reason. The statement to this effect in David Cooper's letter above is confirmed by Benezet's own words in a letter of the same year:

> I generally meet with difficulty in matters I propose, perhaps its best to check my natural activity and vehemence. I have now had for I think more than six months before the committee of the meeting of Suffering an essay a short but full representation of the state and grievous effect of slavery as well with respect to the slave as their more unhappy masters and their offspring, setting forth the advantage which would accrue from the abolition of slavery. . . . [I find] a kind of damp cast upon it by some Friends I think arising from a contraction of ideas. . . . I hence several times intended to lay aside the design, but cannot with ease of mind.[27]

2. In spite of this official discouragement practically all the antislavery publication at this time in America whether signed or anonymous was by Friends. The principal exceptions are the writings of the Presbyterian Dr. Benjamin Rush already mentioned, and we are told it was Benezet who enlisted him to use his pen in the cause.[28]

3. Several of the anonymous writers were New Jerseymen: Allinson, Cooper, and Dillwyn, as was John Woolman. Even Benezet's antislavery interests were supported by his New Jersey correspondents and sympathizers.

[27] Brookes, *op. cit.*, pp. 374 f.

[28] Rush used the pseudonym, "A Pennsylvanian." Smith, *Catalogue*, i, 69, wrongly includes his 1773 essay as a Quaker publication.

BOOK REVIEWS

Friend Anthony Benezet, by George S. Brookes. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. xiv+516 pp.; illustrated. $5.00.

A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier, by Thomas Franklin Currier. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937. xviii+693 pp.; illustrated. $8.00.

THESE two impressive volumes from two great University Presses give renewed evidence of the interest felt by serious people in matters of Quaker history and Quaker personalities.

In the preceding issue we reviewed Janet Whitney's life of Elizabeth Fry, which placed a great Quaker heroine before us in a refreshing light; *Friend Anthony Benezet* performs a comparable service for a less known Friend of our own country.

It is noteworthy, as Mr. Brookes points out in his Foreword, that a personage as remarkable as Anthony Benezet should not have had an adequate biography long ago. Noah Worcester, of Massachusetts, expressed an interest in the subject in 1816 (Benezet died in 1784); Roberts Vaux published a memoir of 156 pages in 1817, which was slightly revised by Wilson Armistead and published in England in 1859; and Joseph Elkinton published an essay on *Anthony Benezet and His Times* in 1898. These represent about all that there is for the searcher to consult; and these are not easily available. Mr. Brookes has reviewed most surviving records, letters, and other original sources, and given us for the first time a biography after the modern technique.

The 516 pages following the introductory part are divided into three parts—a biography of 178 pages, a bibliography of 28 pages, and a collection of letters from, to, and concerning Benezet, comprising some 198 pages—a mine of source information. The biography is charmingly done, and all too brief—the style is attractive, the narrative closely documented but not overloaded. The life begins in 1713 in France, whence the family fled in 1715 to escape religious persecution that had followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes thirty years earlier; a few months were spent in Rotterdam, some sixteen years in and around London, till the family of father, mother, and seven children, including Anthony, landed in Philadelphia in 1731, where Anthony Benezet gradually found and carried on his life work.

The chapter headings indicate the special interests that Anthony Benezet cherished, referring to his activities as schoolmaster—teaching was his dominant passion—; his devotion to his fellow countrymen the Acadians, whose plight is portrayed in Longfellow's *Evangeline,* and 454 of whom were landed as homeless exiles in Philadelphia; his crusades against Negro slavery and in behalf of the American Indians; his interest in the cause of peace; his daily walk as a modest member of the Society of

Friends, retiring yet devotedly loved by hundreds. It is truly an amazing tale that is unfolded, with grace fortified by painstaking scholarship.

The bibliography of books consulted, though full, is not so interesting as the list of writings of Anthony Benezet, classified under education, Indians, religion, war, temperance, slavery, Acadians, closing with a list of writings at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—in all some 214 titles, including however many cases in which a given title is listed in successive editions. (Additional Benezet writings are referred to in Henry J. Cadbury's article, on pages 39 and following of this issue.)

The historian will be especially grateful for the long section containing the letters, for there he finds source material of the most authentic kind, from which if need be he can draw his own conclusions or of which he can make his own interpretation.

From the standpoint of the general reader it is a pity that the charming section comprising the biography cannot be issued as a separate work, for it is fine enough to stand alone. The mere technical matters of the other parts could be published in a separate volume, for libraries and historians. The price of the book as it stands will discourage wide circulation; and the life, and the book, are so significant that one is loath to have them hidden under a bushel.

THE SECOND of these University Press monuments, Currier's bibliography of Whittier, is one of those tremendous works of scholarship which the reference library or the specialist in Whittier cannot hereafter afford to be without, but which the general reader or Whittier lover will use only for occasional consultations. But the specialist will rejoice in the completeness and perfection of this book. For Whittier was a journalist, and a very prolific writer; and from the careful marshaling of the multitudinous bibliographical data in such a case comes an invaluable gain —a mass of new insight into the details of the life, the possibility of solving problems hitherto attacked only with more or less plausible theories, and a certainty in tracing spiritual development, such as give the biographer or other interpreter the feeling of having a sure foundation.

A brief outline of the contents will indicate the scope of the book. Part I lists books and leaflets written, edited, or compiled by Whittier; II lists the poems, in 200 pages; III lists prose essays and tales, and letters to the press—always difficult to list completely; IV lists the newspapers which Whittier edited, showing the editorial contributions printed in each; Part V (this part by Miss Pauline F. Pulsifer, of the Haverhill Public Library) lists notes, articles, and books referring to Whittier's life or works, appearing from 1826 to 1936. Eleven appendixes contain appropriate secondary information, in 115 pages; a full index is appended. There are nineteen illustrations, mainly reproductions of significant documents, title pages, broadsides, or the like.

For the browser the most interesting reading will be the Prefatory Note, the all-too-brief statements prefacing each of the major divisions of the book, and the many notes of biographical or bibliographical interest accompanying the separate entries. These latter resemble the dictionary in that as one reads on one finds the subject frequently changing; but each note contains some concrete fact worth recording.

The book as it stands is just to its title: it is a bibliography. But the prefaces and the explanatory notes makes one hope that Mr. Currier will not stop here in his Whittier scholarship. A biography should be written on the basis of this accumulated detail; for Mr. Currier's style promises a lively and interesting presentation.

A superficial observation on both these University Press books (which also applies to many others) is that they are too big. The margins are wide and the binding heavy. Perhaps if there had been economy here the books could have been priced lower, and might find a wider circulation.

T. K. B., Jr.

Education in Pennsylvania 1801-1835 and its Debt to Roberts Vaux, by Joseph J. McCadden. With a Foreword by Edward H. Reisner. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. xviii+372 pp. Illustrated. $3.50.

THIS BOOK, like *Friend Anthony Benezet,* reviewed above, concerns a Quaker vitally interested in the cause of education. Indeed, Roberts Vaux in a measure made Anthony Benezet his hero, and published a brief memoir of him in 1817. The author is already known to readers of the Bulletin through an anniversary article printed in vol. 25, No. 1 (1936), entitled *Roberts Vaux, 1836-1936.* Both books illustrate the fact that biography is often primarily interesting for the larger movements of history or thought in which the subject took part. The history of education, like the history of penal reform, might sound a bit dull; but when made a vital and personal matter in the lives of Benezet and Vaux, or of Elizabeth Fry, such movements acquire new and compelling interest.

Dr. Reisner, in his foreword, calls attention to what he calls the "literary strategy" of the book—first to exhibit the various movements in the direction of better educational opportunities for the masses, and then to show the influence of Roberts Vaux in the movements. Vaux was in most of them, and in a leading role.

Penn's colony had not lived up to the promise of Quaker educational policy in Vaux's day: there were no public schools for the poor, though private, charitable institutions provided some free instruction, and there were some reading rooms and libraries. About 1820 the Lancasterian system of education began to attract attention in Philadelphia—the system whereby one trained teacher instructed a few selected pupils who in turn instructed younger or more backward ones, originated by Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) in England, and adopted extensively in the Americas.

In 1821 "an act for the more convenient education of the poor gratis" in certain counties was passed by the Pennsylvania legislature. The so-called "infant-school movement" dealt also largely with children of the poor, with a predominant purpose of keeping very young children out of mischief; a private school for this purpose was set up in 1827; the legislature took the matter up the following year, but did nothing decisive until 1834. The movement for uniting education in manual arts and agriculture with intellectual training took its inspiration from the achievements of the Swiss Fellenberg (1771-1844) at Hofwyl, near Berne. From 1831 on there were experiments in Pennsylvania, and the general plan became part of the State school law of 1834. The movement for universal free education was late in gathering headway: taxpayers resisted the burden, rich communities objected to paying for the country districts, political and religious manipulation was feared, and often parents themselves objected, since they wished their children to stay at home and work. After much campaigning and lobbying, the Free School Law of 1834 was passed; under its provisions schools were to be free, supported by public means, and governed or administered with a considerable amount of local independence. There was no provision for compulsory attendance. The law was revised in 1835, and incorporated, with further changes, in the School Code of 1836.

The activities of Roberts Vaux in all these movements are recounted in detail; and they are revealed as being of first importance. Like Benezet, Vaux was retiring; hence perhaps the fact that his real significance has been overlooked. Others, with whom he worked, and often through whom he worked, have received the credit. It is a merit of this book, interestingly written and thoroughly documented, that it shows Vaux's part in the slow coming of Pennsylvania's public-school system. T. K. B., Jr.

Quaker Education in Baltimore and Virginia Yearly Meetings With an Account of Certain Meetings of Delaware and the Eastern Shore Affiliated With Philadelphia, by William C. Dunlap. Philadelphia 1936. xi+574 pp. Illustrated.

THIS HISTORY grew out of study at the University of Pennsylvania under Professor Thomas Wordy. It is based, the author tells us in his Preface, on manuscript sources, mainly the minutes of Quaker meetings, partly original letters. Contemporary newspapers were extensively consulted. Since most of the source material has never been published, the significant passages are often quoted in full.

Some 300 pages are taken up with accounts of schools in thirty monthly and nine quarterly meetings; and of Fair Hill School, founded in 1819 under the care of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Of all these schools only one, that of Baltimore Monthly Meeting, now remains—the others have all been given up as the public schools became better and as Friends became

less concerned to give their children a guarded religious education of the peculiarly Quaker type.

Additional chapters discuss educational work of Friends among the Indians and Negroes, the special subject of religious education, and rehabilitation work done in North Carolina and Tennessee. The book shows an impressive labor by Friends in the cause of education; for while most of the schools were given up, they served the purpose of creating interest in education and paving the way for a sound system of free public schools.

This book is both a source book and a narrative. It is a source book in that it makes available to later students an immense quantity of hitherto inaccessible data, with references to more that can be had—the bibliography and index are veritable mines of concrete information—; it is a narrative, and a history, in that it organizes the facts chosen into an orderly presentation of a large and complicated subject. Much of interest in the life of the monthly meetings themselves is incidentally portrayed as their educational ventures are recounted. T. K. B., Jr.

South After Gettysburg. Letters of Cornelia Hancock from the Army of the Potomac 1863-1865. Edited by Henrietta Stratton Jaquette. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. xiii+173 pp. $2.00. Illustrated.

THE FOUR pages of introduction written by the editor hold the promise of a lively and engaging character to be presented in the letters which follow—and the promise is abundantly fulfilled. The letters show only a brief period of Cornelia Hancock's life—but this brief period appears to have supplied the impetus that started her on a career comparable with that of Elizabeth Fry. She became a leader in Negro education in the South, in modern social work in her home region (her brother-in-law was instrumental in the founding of the present Family Society of Philadelphia), in Children's Aid, and in the problem of housing, which she interpreted in terms broad enough to include what we should call community building.

The letters are sprightly, charming, illuminating. Not without a certain artless egotism, they nevertheless reveal a person who must have appeared to be an angel of mercy to the wounded and dying whom she tended, and an efficient worker and assistant to the surgeons in charge. There is the suspicion of a romance with one of the young doctors—one regrets that the record, and the actual facts in life, went no further; there is the interest of meeting interesting persons, big and little, from Lincoln down; there is the excitement of marching under danger of guerilla shooting from the side, and of shell fire during a larger engagement; there is evidence that Cornelia Hancock soon made an honored and respected place for herself in the councils of the government at the time of a great national crisis.

The letters form a natural group and make an artistic whole. The editor's brief introduction whets one's appetite for more of the life of this able, intelligent, and charming person. T. K. B., Jr.

ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS

By Thomas E. Drake

The Friend (Philadelphia)

IN THE issue of 12 mo. 17, 1936, pp. 217-225 is an interesting article by Leonard S. Kenworthy on "John Bright—Nineteenth Century Humanitarian." It has been reprinted in book form by the Book Committee of the Representative Meeting of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street).

In the same issue (pp. 225-227) Professor Edward D. Snyder reports the discovery of the original manuscript letter of John G. Whittier to President Thomas Chase of Haverford College, on the occasion of the Semi-Centennial of the College in 1883. A corrected version of the letter appears with the article.

The history of the Friends Boarding School near Barnesville, Ohio, is told in brief by the former Principal, J. Wetherill Hutton, in the issue of 3 mo. 11, 1937. The year 1937 marks the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of a Boarding School by Friends in Ohio.

William B. Harvey has a brief historical sketch of Westtown School in the issue of 5 mo. 20, 1937, pp. 429-431.

An article in the number of 6 mo. 3, 1937, pp. 444-445, tells of the erection of a new meeting house in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and gives a brief account of the four previous Friends' meeting houses in Greater Boston since the first one was built in 1694. (See also *Friends Intelligencer,* 6 mo. 12, 1937, p. 404, with an architect's drawing of the new meeting house.)

The Friend (London)

A SERIES of articles on the "Forerunners of Quakerism," by Rufus M. Jones, appears in the issue of 11 mo. 13, 1936, and at frequent intervals thereafter. Beginning with the "Parent Mystic," the fourteenth-century anonymous author of the *Theologica Germanica,* or "Golden Book of German Divinity," Dr. Jones traces the stream of mystical thought in Europe, and into England. His discussion of the continental mystics, Anabaptists, and Seekers, includes accounts of Hans Denck,

Sebastian Franck, Sebastian Castellio, Camillo of Sicily, Peter Balling, Derik Coornhert, and Jacob Boehme. With John Everard, subject of the eighth article, "the stream comes to England." These interesting and illuminating studies are also printed in the *Friends Intelligencer,* 11 mo. 28, 1936, and following.

In the issue of 3 mo. 5, 1937, p. 219, is a short historic sketch of the meeting at Woodbridge, Suffolk, founded in 1678 and the home meeting of many distinguished Friends of former times. The meeting house has recently been sold.

In connection with the holding the London Yearly Meeting in Bristol this year four articles are published on Bristol Quakerism. The first two (4 mo. 23 and 30, 1937) are by Marian F. Pease, and deal with "Quakerism in 17th and 18th Century Bristol." Helen M. Sturge has an article in the issue of 5 mo. 7, on "Bristol Friends in the 19th Century"; and there is a sketch of "Quakerism in Bristol Today" by F. W. Evans in the issue of 5 mo. 14.

Miscellaneous

IN THE *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* of February 12, 1937, is a descriptive article, entitled "Quakeriana in the College Library," by Kimball Conro Elkins. It tells of the growth of Harvard's collection of books relating to the Society of Friends, from the early days when none but anti-Quakeriana found a place on the College's shelves, to the last two years, when there has been a great increase. In this short time the collection has grown from four or five hundred volumes to over 2,500, largely because of the able efforts of Professor Henry J. Cadbury. This article is reprinted in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), 3 mo. 25, 1937, pp. 347-349, with a further discussion of "Quaker Books at Harvard" by Henry J. Cadbury, pp. 345-347. See also for the latter article, *The American Friend,* 4 mo. 15, 1937, pp. 155-156, and *Friends Intelligencer,* 5 mo. 8, 1937, pp. 325-326.

A new biography of Lucretia Mott has appeared serially in *Americana,* a quarterly published by the American Historical Society, Somerville, New Jersey (vol. XXX, no. 3, July, 1936, and continued in three following numbers). It is by Lloyd C. M. Hare, and is entitled "The Greatest American Woman: Life of Lucretia Mott, Social Pioneer." The title is indicative of the style and character of the narrative, which is popular in tone, and very readable. Although there are no footnotes or bibliography to show where the author has secured his material, it is evident from the text that he is well at home in the period of his study and fully familiar with the details of Lucretia Mott's busy and useful life.

In *The American Friend* of 2 mo. 18, 1937, is an article containing selections from the manuscript journal kept by Gerard T. Hopkins on his mission to the Indians of the Old Northwest in 1804. The journal was published seventy-five years ago by Martha E. Tyson, under the title *A Mission to the Indians . . ., by Gerard T. Hopkins,* with some appended excerpts from the manuscripts of George Ellicott, companion on this mission of the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. This little book is now quite rare, and it is interesting to have these extracts reprinted in *The American Friend* and to learn that the original Hopkins manuscript is now preserved in the library of the Homewood Meeting of Friends in Baltimore.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, XXXIII (1936), contains several articles of special interest to American Friends. C. Brightwen Rowntree contributes new material on Benjamin Lay, particularly concerning his relations with Colchester Monthly Meeting in England. There are notes on Christopher Ludowick, first Quaker schoolmaster of Newport, by Henry J. Cadbury, and a notice by S. Graveson of the recent gift to the Library of Friends House in London of letters from Elihu Burritt to Friends in England with whom he was working in the cause of peace. In addition Ernest E. Taylor writes of the great revival at Malton in 1652, and Arthur J. Eddington contributes the first part of an article on the Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk. Among the documents reprinted is William Edmundson's testimony to his wife, Margrett, and a further series of extracts of letters to George Fox in the A. R. Barclay MSS in Friends House.

In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* April, 1937, is an article by Charles Arthur Hawley, entitled, "Correspondence Between John Greenleaf Whittier and Iowa." It tells the story of the founding of the college by Friends in Salem, Iowa, in 1868, which was named for the Quaker poet, and of Whittier's interest in and contributions to the college throughout the remainder of his life.

In the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections.* vol. XXX, no. 1 (January, 1937), pp. 9-26, is an article by William Allan Dyer, entitled, "William Dyer, a Rhode Island Dissenter—from Lincoln or Somerset?" The author maintains in a convincing fashion that William Dyer, the husband of Mary Dyer, the Quaker martyr, was not a Somerset royalist, as has previously been claimed, but a native of Lincolnshire. He was a sympathizer with Puritan dissenters in England, came with his wife to Boston in 1634 or 1635, and left for Rhode Island in 1637 when he became involved in the Antinomian controversy. He does not appear to have been a Friend, but he bitterly protested the treatment which his Quaker wife received from the Massachusetts authorities in 1659 and 1660.

NOTES

A BRONZE memorial tablet bearing a likeness of William Penn and quotations from his writings describing his hopes for Philadelphia was presented to the city on Twelfth Month 9, 1936, by Chapter Two of the Colonial Dames of America. At the presentation ceremonies, held in the eastern entrance of the City Hall where the tablet was unveiled by Peter Penn-Gaskell Hall, a descendant of William Penn, President William W. Comfort of Haverford College spoke of the faith and courage which inspired Penn, and of the obligation of present Philadelphians to adhere to the ideals of the city's founder.

"A NEW View of William Penn" is the title of a brief article in *Pennsylvania History,* vol. iv, No. 2 (April, 1937), pp. 103-105, in which Burton Alva Konkle defends the thesis that William Penn's essential greatness has not been fully grasped even by his biographers. In contrast to the usual estimates of Penn as a great Quaker *or* a great early internationalist *or* an interesting colonist, Mr. Konkle holds him up as one who achieves actual genius in several fields, working out his life against the background of the great upheaval in the British Empire in which the struggle for parliamentary supremacy over absolutism was won by the parliamentarians. He closes with a suggestion that Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey unite in erecting a monument to Penn at a point near where their three boundaries meet.

THE SOCIAL development of Quakerism is a conspicuous element throughout E. D. Bebb's *Nonconformity and Social and Economic Life 1660-1800* (London, Epworth Press, 1935). A careful estimate of the numbers, wealth and influence of nonconformists in England is followed by a study of their own discipline and their relation to the state. Personal responsibility on matters of money, group responsibility for poverty, the questions of prisons and of slavery, are all treated. There is something about "Bezenet" (*sic*) and more about Bellers. There is a wealth of statistical material with much reference to literature on the subject. The advantage of the book is that it places Quakerism in the perspective of other nonconformist movements, especially Methodism. The author rightly emphasizes the importance of nonconformity's contribution to social and economic life and attempts to explain how its views grew out of its religious position. Whenever special studies of a more connected sort are undertaken of our Quaker sociology much useful information can be culled from this volume.

RED, BLACK, & WHITE is the title of a booklet on the history of Carthagena, Ohio, written by Ulrich F. Mueller, C.P.P.S., and published without printer's name, place, or date in the spring of 1935. Its interest to Friends lies in the account of the attempt by Augustus Wattles

and his wife, of Cincinnati, to plant a colony of free Negroes in Mercer County, Ohio, in 1835. They were not Friends, but in 1842 their educational efforts for the colony received the support of a fund left to trustees by the will of Samuel Emlen, Jr. (1770-1837) of Burlington, N. J. On account of the hostility of the whites the "Emlen Institution for the Benefit of Children of African and Indian Descent," as it was called, had a short life in this location. The Negroes moved in fright from the community. Wattles resigned and moved to Kansas, and the property was sold in 1857. The site of the colony and institute is now owned largely by St. Charles Seminary, a Roman Catholic foundation established originally by missionaries to the Indians of the Congregation of the Most Precious Blood. The information about Friends and the Emlen Institute was collected for this work largely by Miss Margery Miller, Librarian of the Carnegie Library, Celina, Ohio.

MILES Mark Fisher of Durham, N. C., contributes to the September, 1935, issue of *Church History* an article on "Friends of Humanity: a Quaker Anti-Slavery Influence." After reviewing briefly the rise of antislavery feeling among Friends he argues that the beginnings of a similar radical attitude in other denominations were due to Quaker influence and that the name Friends of Humanity which some of these radicals adopted was also due to the Friends. His examples include David Barrow and other Baptists in the Middle West, the Colonization Society, and even Nat Turner. It is difficult to see that the case for Quaker influence is really made out.

IN *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for Seventh Month, 1935, S. B. Meyer contributes a brief article entitled "A Reflection of Quaker Influence in American Settlement." This deals especially with Cleng Peerson, the Norwegian who was the pioneer of Norwegian immigration to the United States. He was not exactly a Friend himself, but he made some contacts with Friends in New York, and the first boatload to follow him, the famous sloop *Restaurationen,* was led by a few Friends from Stavanger. The account appears to be based on Hjalmar R. Holand, *Den Sidste Folkevandring.* Though this was published in 1930 it is, at least concerning Peerson, practically a reprint of what the same author issued at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1908 in *De Norske Settlementers Historie.* Neither Holand nor Meyer pays any attention to the more recent literature on the subject which has appeared in abundance in both English and Norwegian since 1925, the centenary of the sloop's voyage. See Indexes to this BULLETIN for vols. 16-25.

THE ISSUE of *The Palimpsest* for November, 1935 (vol. xvi, no. 11), published in Iowa by the State Historical Society, is devoted to some centenary articles on the Quaker community founded at Salem, Iowa, in 1835. The writer, Charles A. Hawley, lays special stress upon the anti-

slavery agitation and the activities of the underground railway, and upon the educational efforts of Friends. There are sketches of Reuben Dorland (1816-1852), who came to Salem to start Dorland Seminary in 1845, and of D. Sands Wright (1848-1926), who came to Whittier College in Salem in 1872. The editor adds in a note the names of several other Quaker schools in Iowa. Salem is said to be the first Quaker settlement west of the Mississippi. "The very name Salem indicates that these settlers were Quakers. A list of Salems in various States establishes the trail of the Quakers from New Jersey, through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and even as far west as Oregon."

For much older periodical accounts of Iowa Quakerism reference may be made to journals of visits paid by Robert Lindsey, first without and then with his wife, which were published in full in vol. xii of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* in 1914 by Louis T. Jones, under the titles "The Quakers of Iowa in 1850" (p. 262-286), and "The Quakers of Iowa in 1858" (pp. 394-439). The informative and detailed journals are printed verbatim, but the whereabouts of their manuscript source is not reported.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

AT A MEETING of the Directors of Friends' Historical Association, held Fourth Month 9, 1937, it was suggested that Article III of our Constitution be amended, in order to simplify the method of electing new members. The Board approved of this suggestion, and the Secretary was directed to give the required two months' notice so that the proposed amendment may be considered at the annual meeting of the Association in Eleventh Month.

Therefore, this is to notify all members of Friends' Historical Association that it is proposed to amend the first paragraph of Article III of the Constitution, which now reads as follows:

> Any person interested in the objects of the Association is eligible for membership and may be elected thereto by a majority vote at any meeting of the Directors, or by the written assent of the President, Secretary, and Chairman of the Membership Committee.

Under the proposed amendment, it would read:

> Any person interested in the objects of the Association is eligible for membership and may be elected thereto by a majority vote at any meeting of the Directors, or with the approval of the Secretary and one other member of the Association.

LEGEND:

FRIENDS AROUND THE WORLD

- YEARLY MEETING
- SCHOOL
- MEETINGS
  GROUPS OF FRIENDS
  MISSIONS